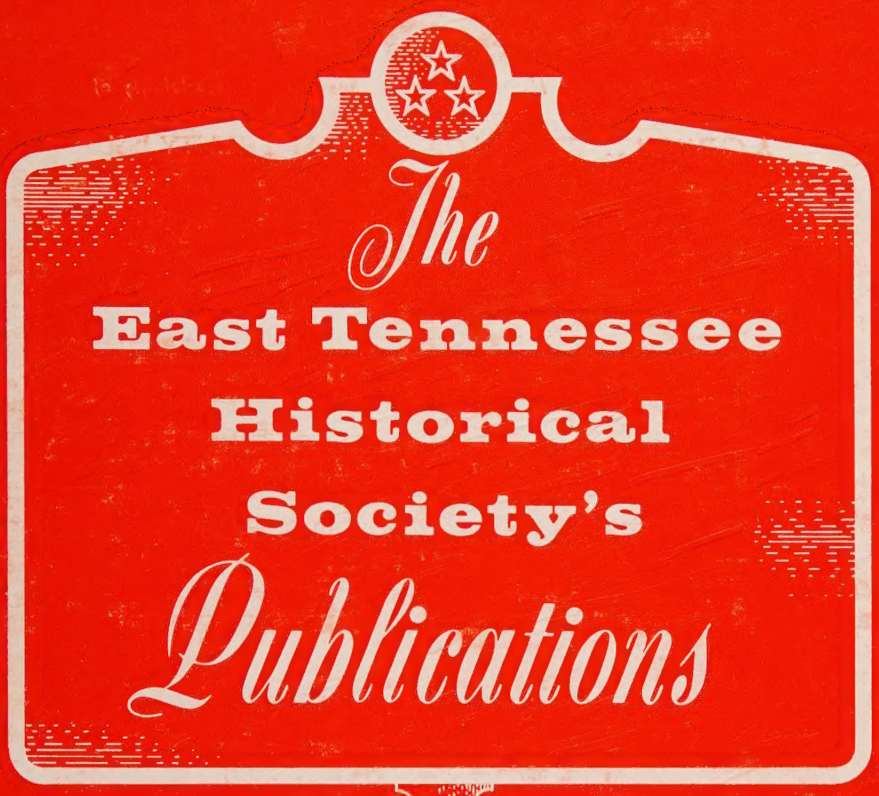

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KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

No. 32
1960

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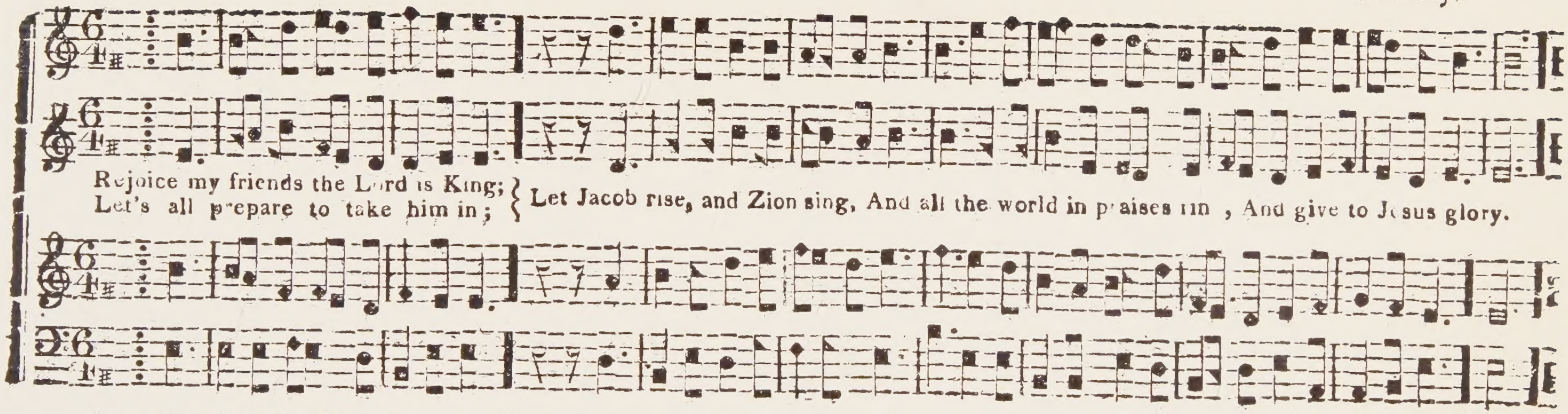
KNOXVILLE. 8, 8, 8, 8, 7.

Monday.


Rejoice my friends the Lord is King;
Let's all prepare to take him in;
Let Jacob rise, and Zion sing, And all the world in praises rin , And give to Jesus glory.

O may the saints of ev'ry name,
Unite to serve the bleeding Lamb;
May jars, and discord cease to flame,
And all the Saviours love proclaim,
And give to Jesus glory

Come parents. children, bond and free,
O come, and go to heav'n with me:
That glorious land of rest to see,
And shout with God eternally, &c.

Through faith, the telescope, is seen
Though Jordans billows roll between;
We soon shall cross the narrow main,
To beauteous fields of living green. &c.

I long to se all christians join
In union sweet' and love divine,
Then ev'ry church with grace shall shine,
And grow in Christ the living vine &c.

Come, who will march to win the prize,
And take the kingdom in the skies,
Where love and union never dies,
But always flows through Paradise, &c.

A few more days of pain and woe,
A few more suffering scenes below,
And then to Jesus we will go
Where everlasting pleasures flow &c.

On Zion's briliant mount I stand,
And view the holy heav'nly land,
With palms of victory in our hands,
We'll shout with heav'ns triumphant band,
And give to Jesus glory.

There all the souls shall join in one,
And sing with Moses round the throne,
There troubles are forever gone,
They'll shout through Gods eternal son,
And give &c.

The rose and lilly there shall stand.
In holy bloom, at God's right hand
O, how I long for canaan's land,
Where I may join the heav'ly band,
And give &c.

—Ananias Davisson's *A Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony*, 3rd ed., Harrisonburg, Va., 1825.

EARLY MUSICAL ACTIVITIES IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, 1791-1861

By E. KATHERINE CREWS

In 1791 William Blount, as governor of the Territory South of the River Ohio, selected as the seat of government a small settlement near the forks of the Holston and French Broad rivers which he called Knoxville, after General Henry Knox, then secretary of war. Many years earlier the Indians and early traders had made paths through the mountains that join North Carolina and Tennessee, and as early as 1786 James White had recognized the beauty and possibilities of this fertile country and had built a fort which later became the center of the town called Knoxville, informally organized as such on October 3, 1791. When Tennessee became a state in 1796, Knoxville became the capital and remained so for some eighteen years. It was not only the state capital and the earlier capital of the Territory South of the River Ohio, the scene of treaty signing, and the headquarters of many visits by political figures, but it was a trading place with stores referred to as being the best stocked in the territory.

When the early settlers came, the only means of travel to the new town was on horseback or by stage coach or wagon across the steep mountain roads, but they brought with them a few musical instruments and a love of music. Most of these people came directly from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, originally from England, Scotland, and Germany. Since they had come to America seeking religious freedom, it is logical to expect that some of the earliest references to anything musical might be in connection with the church.

As early as February, 1792, James Miller, a local merchant, had just arrived from Richmond and Philadelphia with goods which included Watt's *Psalms and Hymns*.[1] In the August 11, 1792, edition of the *Knoxville Register,* Nathaniel and Samuel Cowan had for sale in Knoxville "Hymn Books and *Philadelphia Harmony.*" These books were doubtless used at the church services held in the courthouse, where various denominations worshipped until "meeting houses" were

[1] *Knoxville Gazette,* February 11, 1792.

built. In those days the singing in the Sunday services was led by a precentor, generally one of the elders of the church, who would sing the psalm line by line, pausing each time for the congregation to repeat the line he had just sung.[2]

Not only was there singing of psalms but of other music as well. In February, 1796, "An Ode was sung at Knoxville in the State of Tennessee in celebration of the President's [Washington's] Birthday."[3] Neither words nor music have been found, however.

Since Knoxville was the capital politically as well as commercially, a good proportion of its early inhabitants were lawyers and professional men, educated in the best eastern schools, and accustomed to dinners, balls, and other such entertainment where music played an important part. Another early reference to music in Knoxville was pertaining to dancing. Governor John Sevier, in his diary,[4] frequently mentioned attending hops, dances, and balls at various places; for instance, on July 4, 1796, "an elegant ball at Mr. Stone's"; on July 8, 1796, "a dance at Mrs. Blount's"; on February 13, 1797, a ball at Captain Jones' and the next evening another at Captain Stone's, on December 25, 1798, "a Great Ball at the house of Mr. Willson"; and on August 6, 1799, "went with the family to a ball at Mr. Loves tavern." He said on October 5, 1797, that "the children went to the dancing school." What kind of music was played at these functions has not been determined, but it has been said that Mary Grainger Blount, wife of Governor William Blount, had entertainments which were "the models after which others were patterned. The gay uniforms of young officers, the rich silks of young maidens, the flare of multitudinous lights from candelabra, and the soul-stirring music of fife, bugle, drum, and violin throw a glamour of romance over the scene."[5]

Frequent mention is made of the young folks dancing till daybreak while musicians scraped their fiddles, marking time by nodding their heads and patting their feet.[6] But it is still not known exactly what music was used, who played it, how many played, or on exactly what

---

[2] John Tasker Howard and George Kent Bellows, *A Short History of Music in America* (New York, 1957), 18.

[3] *Knoxville Gazette,* February 17, 1796.

[4] John H. Dewitt (ed.), "Journal of John Sevier," *Tennessee Historical Magazine,* V (October, 1919), 156-94, and (January, 1920), 232-64.

[5] William Rule, *Standard History of Knoxville, Tennessee* (Chicago, 1900), 84.

[6] Mary U. Rothrock, *Discovering Tennessee* (Kingsport, 1955), 75.

instruments. The music probably included popular tunes of the day. The newspapers often printed poems under the titles of which read "to the tune of . . . ." The most often used tune was "Yankee Doodle." Others frequently mentioned were "Auld Lang Syne," "Marseilles Hymn," "Rural Felicity," "Old Oaken Bucket," "Rosin the Bow," "Old King Cole," and "Woodman Spare That Tree." Toward the middle of the nineteenth century Stephen Foster tunes like "Camptown Races" and "Uncle Ned" were used in this way. During the 1820's and 1840's in particular was there an abundance of poems written to be sung to familiar tunes. Some of them were pro or con the political figures of the day, especially in the 1840's; and, of course, the eve of the War Between the States brought many more of these.

A check on music used following toasts at large dinners, especially those held on the Fourth of July, suggests other tunes of the day. In 1808 a celebration was described in the following manner:

> When the dinner was finished . . . toasts were accompanied with the discharge of cannon and martial music . . . the toasts . . . and music included: The day we celebrate—"Hail Columbia"; The heroes of our revolution—"Marseilles Hymn" . . . The Tenth Congress—"Washington's March" . . . The internal enemies of Republicanism—"Go to the Devil and Shake Yourself" . . . .[7]

Perhaps the last one was a forerunner of modern rock and roll!

Dancing continued to be a popular activity in Knoxville; and while it is known that there were early dancing schools, Leighton Wood, who established a dancing school in 1817, was the first dancing teacher whose name is given in the newspapers.[8] Mr. Wood was also a bookbinder.

Many balls were held at the local hotels and at the University, and later several other dancing teachers opened schools. In fact, balls and cotillions became quite popular in the late 1850's, but never was a clue given in the accounts as to the music used.

Not only did early Knoxville have balls and toasts at dinners; but since the town was founded before Tennessee became a state, as early as 1792 the Federal troops were stationed in the Southwest Territory and included drummers, fifers, cornets, and trumpeters. In 1812, a call was issued for additional military forces to enlist for five years: ten regiments of infantry with thirty-six musicians in each, two regi-

[7] *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* July 6, 1808.
[8] *Knoxville Register,* December 23, 1817.

ments of artillery with forty musicians in each, one regiment of light dragoons with twelve trumpeters, and each regiment to have two seignior musicians.[9] Evidently musicians were scarce, because the article stated "the regulations regarding height and age not extended to musicians and re-inlistees [*sic*]."[10] In a later issue of this paper "drums and fifes, trumpets and horns" were advertised for sale by Tench Coxe of Philadelphia.[11] Musicians did enlist, for in 1816 a notice appeared in the newspaper that widows or surviving children under sixteen of musicians of the regular army were to receive a pension of five years' half pay.[12]

During the Mexican War, *The Knoxville Standard* for February 8, 1848, printed news from Knoxville men stationed in Mexico with the Fourth Regiment of Tennessee Volunteers. Included were a drummer named Dobbins and a fifer named Sullivan.

Wilson's Knoville Gazette, November 8, 1813, carried an advertisement of the Maryville Female Academy, saying music on the "Piano Forti" would be taught. Since Maryville is only fifteen miles from Knoxville, it is possible that some of the Knoxville daughters may have studied piano there. This is the earliest found date of such being taught in the Knoxville area. Other towns in the area that had schools where music was taught in this first half-century were Greeneville, Athens, Rogersville, and Jonesborough.

There was at least one piano in Knoxville in 1810. Letters to Polly McClung from her father, Charles McClung, mention the piano he was buying her from Baltimore. Evidently it was going to be a rare treat, for his letter of January 14, 1810, says "Your Aunts Smith and White have not been here this 7 or 8 weeks, and as a punishment for their neglect, I will tell them the first time I see them, that you shall not play on the Piano for them when you come home."[13] Polly then was a student at Salem Female Academy, the Moravian school at Salem, North Carolina. As early as 1832 pianos mnufactured in New York were sold in Knoxville at James H. Cowan's store.

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[9] *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* February 17, 1812.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* April 6, 1812.

[12] *Knoxville Gazette,* August 3, 1816.

[13] Manuscript in McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Beginning about 1810, and for several years thereafter, advertisements appeared offering rewards for the return of runaway slaves that "play a little on the fiddle," "play on the tamboreen [*sic*]," "show a fondness for the triangle," "play tolerable [*sic*] well on a violin." Rewards offered were ample, so they evidently were valuable slaves. Since so many of them came from smaller surrounding towns and from the country, it is possible that they ran away to the city of Knoxville to play for the balls held there.

Occasional anecdotes and other references to things musical appeared in the newspapers during this period. An 1816 article[14] gives the ages at which famous musicians died; another tells a story about Handel's eating so much. Still another tells of the Franklin Music Warehouse in Boston saying their workmen were native born, that they manufactured musical instruments of every description, and that people should order from them instead of from Europe in order to give "friendly encouragement of the arts on this side of the Atlantic."[15] There is also a humorous poem about the bellows blower who refused to pump the organ until the organist agreed that it took both of them to perform beautifully for the church service.[16] Various articles are copied from other newspapers; for instance, one on the values of music to people physically, emotionally, and spiritually, from the "Haverill Gazette."[17]

Just as the New Englanders began their singing schools when they realized their people could not sing new hymns in church because of their inability to read music, so did Knoxville start singing schools. In April, 1818, a little over a year after Mr. Wood's dancing school started, a Mr. Monday opened a singing school at the Methodist meeting house. The next month one of the newspapers printed the following advertisement:

> The subscriber takes the liberty of informing his friends and the general public that the second of the KENTUCKY HARMONY has lately been completed; and is now ready for sale at the firm of Crozier and Sutherland, where they will be retailed at the usual prices.
> He likewise cordially requests all the young people, who have hitherto been taught by Mr. Monday, and others (either within the town or its vicinity) to attend at the Methodist meeting house on Saturday the

[14] *Knoxville Register,* November 2, 1816.
[15] *Ibid.,* November 11, 1817.
[16] *Ibid.,* February 13, 1821.
[17] *Ibid.,* February 27, 1821.

> 20th of June next, for the purpose of spending the day in singing. He would likewise, feel highly gratified to see all the young teachers attend that live convenient to the place. The company of Captain R. Boyd, Captain R. Monday, Major John Martin, and A. Rhea, Esq., are particularly requested. A. DAVISSON, A.K.H.: Knoxville, May 20.[18]

"A.K.H." means "Author of *Kentucky Harmony.*" This was one of the many such song books published in this era. Most of them had a section on "fundamentals of music made easy" and were in shape-note notation, having different shapes for note heads to indicate the syllables in the scale. In *A Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony* by Ananias Davisson, printed in 1825 in Harrisonburg, Virginia, is a hymn entitled "Knoxville," written by Monday. It is thought that this was the same Mr. Monday who taught the singing school in Knoxville.

The "A. Rhea, Esq." mentioned in the advertisement quoted above, was probably Archibald Rhea, Jr., who acted as precentor for the Lebanon Presbyterian Church near Knoxville and also taught music classes in that church. After moving to Knoxville about 1815, he became precentor at the First Presbyterian Church.[19]

The first reference to a concert, so-called, in the area was in 1818 when a concert of vocal music was announced to be in Jonesborough, with the hope that Knoxville musicians would attend.[20] The following year a concert was held in Knoxville. Its advertisement read:

> MR. RICHARDSON, late leader of the Band at the Circus, Richmond, and MRS. RICHARDSON, a celebrated singer and dancer from Philadelphia Concerts and Richmond Theatre on their way to Nashville, respectfully inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of Knoxville they will give a concert at Mr. Rhea's Hotel on Wednesday Evening, April 28. For particulars see Bills.[21]

A copy of their Knoxville program has not been found; but judging from their programs in Richmond and in Nashville, music performed was of high quality and included works of Mozart and Beethoven.[22]

Some of the concerts which followed this were those of a Mrs. McBride and daughters who gave a concert of vocal music and readings in 1824, and a concert in 1825 at Knoxville Hotel of a variety of celebrated pieces on the grand pedal harp by Signior Pucci. Written

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[18] *Ibid.*, May 26, 1818.
[19] J. G. M. Ramsey, *History of Lebanon Presbyterian Church* (Knoxville, reprinted, 1952), 14.
[20] *Knoxville Register,* December 8, 1818.
[21] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1819.
[22] *Richmond Compiler,* January 7 and 29, 1819; *The Nashville Whig,* July 3, 1819.

accounts of concerts during this period are few, partly because newspaper space was more often given to politics, and because transportation was a problem for concert artists who might have been attracted. Knoxville was not reached by steamboat and by railroad until 1828 and 1855, respectively.

One of the first instrumental music teachers in Knoxville was J. H. Hoffman. His advertisement is an interesting one:

> Instrumental music. Or an Introduction to the same.
> Comprising the first principles, and each scholar taught in a scientific manner in 20 lessons, by the precept a practical performer on the Clarionet, trumpet, German Flute, Octave do,[23] Additional Keyed Flute, Flageolet Flute, Serpent, Faggotto, Bassoon, Zuffallo, Vielli Hurdy, Violin, Viola (or Tenor Fiddle), Cymballi, Flageolet, Patent Flageolet, Double Barrelled do., French horn F, Clarionet, Pizzicato, Plain Bugle, Six Keyed Bugle, Piano Forte, Violincello (or Bass Viol), Harpsichord, Trombone, etc. The Lectures commenced on the 25th September inst. postively for a short period, in which time each pupil will be taught, and will attend individually or separate hours of the day and in the evening, as may best suit their mutual convenience, and will insure to learn each to play from the first principles, the first course of 20 popular airs, on any solo or single instrument, who have no ear for music, and whose efforts were ineffectual to attain this Divine Art in the time specified, or *no compensation will be required.*
> Amateurs, imprest for further improvement or Chromatic Music, the Sonatas not limited, the terms moderate, and his attention assiduous.
> Six key'd Bugles, double barrell Flageolets, Clarionetts [*sic*], together with other warranted instruments, for sale by J. H. Hoffman, Knoxville Hotel, Sept. 27.[24]

If this advertisement may be taken as a good sample of his teaching ability, there is some doubt not only as to just what the man taught but also as to his ability to teach anything understandingly. No doubt one of his aims was to sell the instruments mentioned for sale. However, this marks a rather interesting beginning of instrumental music in Knoxville.

Local firms had advertised musical merchandise for sale previous to Hoffman's appearance. As early as 1822 the firm of Crozier and Barton had violin strings for sale.[25] In 1825 Campbell and Greenway sold "Superior Black Senchew and Lute Strings,"[26] and Samuel Bell advertised for sale violins, strings, and flutes.[27] By 1831 he had musical boxes, and in 1839 he advertised for sale "large and small Musical

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[23] "Do" means "ditto," thus Octave Flute.
[24] *Knoxville Register,* September 27, 1826.
[25] *Ibid.,* July 30, 1822.
[26] *Ibid.,* January 7, 1825.
[27] *Knoxville Enquirer,* June 8, 1825.

Boxes; Violins, Bows, Strings, Aprons, Fingerboards, Screws, Bridges, etc.; Accordeons, Flutes, Flageolets, Octave Flutes, Clarionets, Fifes, etc."[28] From early times several New York firms advertised all kinds of music and musical instruments for sale, and occasional advertisements are seen of Nashville, Philadelphia, and Charleston firms.

By 1850 Knoxville's musical taste was sufficiently developed to invite advertisements from New York and Philadelphia for various magazines containing music, mostly popular music. An 1841 advertisement for *Graham's Lady's and Gentlemen's Magazine* from Philadelphia says it contained the choicest pieces of popular music for piano and guitar and "in this way subscribers in remote country towns can always have the latest music at low rates, almost as soon as it is published."[29] One of the earliest advertised was *Godey's Lady's Book and Lady's Musical Library.* Others included *The Lady's Wreath and Young Ladies' Magazine,* the *Philadelphia Saturday Courier,* and in 1859 *Our Musical Friend.* The latter was a weekly publication of sheet music suitable for players and singers of the home circle, by such composers as Mozart, Schubert, Strauss, Balfe, Rossini, Bellini, Beethoven, and others.[30]

Since the Knoxville public schools did not open until 1871, and since only men were permitted to attend East Tennessee College (now University of Tennessee) in 1827, May 7 of that year was an exciting time for the young ladies in and around Knoxville. On that day the Knoxville Female Academy began its first session, teaching spelling, reading, writing, defining, geography, arithmetic, English grammar, rhetoric, composition, history, chronology, logic, moral, intellectual and natural philosophy, chemistry and astronomy, the Latin and Greek languages, projecting, drawing and painting maps, drawing and painting (plain), ornamental needle and lace work, and music. The music included piano lessons, each student receiving "a lesson of one hour on each alternate day"[31] for an extra fee of $20.00 per session. A music teacher was not found until October when Miss Mary Littleford, of Charlottesville, Virginia, was engaged to teach music, and "should her time not all be necessarily occupied in that branch, then, she is to be

[28] *Knoxville Republican,* November 23, 1831; *Times* (Knoxville), December 27, 1839.
[29] *Post* (Knoxville), May 22, 1841.
[30] *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* January 29, 1859.
[31] Journal of the Proceedings of the Trustees of the Knoxville Female Academy (Manuscript in University of Tennessee Library), 4.

otherwise employed in the school as the Trustees or the Principal of the Academy may direct. She is to furnish the Piano for giving lessons, but it is to remain her property. The institution is to pay the expense of transporting the Piano to Knoxville."[32] Her salary was $500.00 for the year. According to the *Register,* the trustees at the examinations heard her "play several pieces on the piano, which must have convinced every connoisseur that she is a perfect mistress of the science she professes to teach."[33] This is a typical but often erroneous conclusion even today among some school authorities—if a teacher can play well, that is proof that she will be a good teacher.

The following year the board of trustees elected a new principal, because the first one lacked interest in the "ornamental branches of study," and the board had "endeavored to have the music teacher give more time to the music pupils and less time to other classes."[34] Miss Littleford married the treasurer of the board of trustees, and early in 1829 Miss Margaret M. Stephens became the piano teacher. By 1836 the whole school was taught vocal music without additional charge.

In the 1830's the grand menageries and circuses began to come to Knoxville. Most of them mentioned "good music," or "a superior band of music." For instance, in 1837, Messrs. Waring, Raymond Company's Menageria [*sic*], Museum, and Circus was accompanied to Knoxville by the Washington Military Band.[35] In 1848 Professor Kelley, "the modern Ole Bull," and H. K. Gaul's Brass Band came with the Great Western Circus.[36] Still later the *Knoxville Register* announced on May 11, 1851, the Knickerbocker Band which accompanied Welch, Delevan, and Nathan's National Circus; in 1855, Robinson and Eldred's Circus band under the direction of Joseph Nosher;[37] and in 1858, Robinson's Circus with Professor Zimmerman and his Full Concert Band.[38]

As the years went by more newspaper space was alotted to music, and several interesting and timely articles appeared in the 1830's on

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[32] *Ibid.,* 3.

[33] *Knoxville Register,* October 10, 1827.

[34] Laura E. Luttrell, "One Hundred Years of A Female Academy: The Knoxville Female Academy, 1811-1846; The East Tennessee Female Institute, 1846-1911," The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 17 (1945), 73.

[35] *Knoxville Register,* July 26, 1837.

[36] *Knoxville Tribune,* April 25, 1848. This is interesting, because the real Ole Bull first visited America in 1843 at the age of 33!

[37] *Knoxville Register,* August 9, 1855.

[38] *Ibid.,* May 13, 1858.

subjects such as, "The Influence of Music," "Why Few Persons Can Sing," "Why All Children Should be Taught Music," etc.

The first reference to a piano tuner was found in the March 15, 1837, *Register*. His name was Mr. Pucci and could possibly have been the same Signior Pucci who gave the concert on the grand pedal harp twelve years before, as he is known to have been in Nashville for a concert in 1837.[39]

In 1839 a Mr. D. L. Elder came from Cincinnati and started classes in vocal music. The *Times* commented on "how much he will help church singing."[40] Mr. Elder organized a group called the Knoxville Musical Society; and according to the *Times*,[41] the Society had a room in the Male Academy where meetings were held. As such, this was the first formal musical organization in Knoxville and compared favorably in time with the organization of music groups in other cities; the Philharmonic Society and the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston were organized in 1810 and 1815, respectively, and the Philharmonic Societies of St. Louis and of New York in 1838 and 1842, respectively. Of course, the Knoxville Musical Society was not equal to these other societies since they were in large cities; the real significance is that all were organized during the same period. The *Times* also stated that Mr. Elder had forty to fifty persons in his classes, that there were classes for children and adults, that he was teaching instrumental music in classes or privately, and that his "method of instruction was the Inductive or Pestalozzian."[42] All this is significant of the up-to-date music in Knoxville at the time, for it was only a year after Lowell Mason had been hired by the Boston Public Schools to set up one of the first public school music programs in America. Of course, Mr. Elder was not teaching in the public schools, but his methods were similar to Mr. Mason's; and he undoubtedly influenced many Knoxvillians. The same article praised Mr. Elder and said:

> Music, to some few, may be a natural gift; but its advantages and enjoyments are within the grasp of all. How ridiculous, to suppose that the Almighty has withheld from man the power to praise Him. Our people here, have been, until lately, quite remiss in cultivating their

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[39] Kenneth Rose, "A Nashville Musical Decade, 1830-1840," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, II (September, 1943), 229.
[40] *Times* (Knoxville), September 6, 1839.
[41] *Ibid.*, November 12, 1839. The Academy must have been the Hampden Sidney.
[42] *Ibid.*, November 8, 1839.

vocal powers; but we hope, now that the subject is agitated, more attention will be paid."[43]

Apparently more attention was paid, for musical activities became more numerous each year in Knoxville. Beginning in 1840 and continuing to the present, the University of Tennessee (East Tennessee University, as it then was called) has had music at its commencement programs. In fact, the 1840 commencement listed "Music—an Ode written for the Occasion,"[44] and the newspaper "praised the concord of sweet sounds."[45] At least two additional music teachers came to Knoxville that year, one of whom was also a piano tuner.

When the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Knoxville was celebrated in 1842 (a year late), "music" was listed as first in the order of procession—possibly a band of some sort—but neither the newspapers, nor Drury P. Armstrong's diary,[46] nor other sources give any further description of music for the big day.

At a Masonic Lodge Celebration in 1845 a "band of music" preceded the procession, and an "appropriate hymn was then sung" before the address was given.[47]

The first description of a band was found in the minutes of the Knoxville Brass Band. On October 13, 1847, the Knoxville Brass Band was organized by about twenty local men. Some familiar names found in the minutes of this organization are: John Tarleton, a merchant; Samuel Bell, a jeweler; William G. Swan, a lawyer; Dr. James Rodgers, a physician; and R. L. Kirkpatrick, a teacher. R. G. Williams, music teacher at Knoxville Female Seminary, was elected first leader.[48] The following year the Band began to perform in public and played at the laying of the cornerstone at the Deaf and Dumb School, at the University,[49] and at other places.

Other musical organizations were formed, for in 1848 a concert was given by the Phil-Harmonic Society at the Knoxville Female Seminary to obtain money with which to purchase a piano for that institu-

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[43] *Ibid.,* September 13, 1839.
[44] *Knoxville Register,* August 12, 1840.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] Diary of Drury P. Armstrong, 1842-1849 (Typewritten manuscript in McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library), 3.
[47] *Knoxville Register,* June 25, 1845.
[48] Minutes of the Knoxville Brass Band, 1847-1851, Knoxville, Tennessee (Manuscript in McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library).
[49] *Knoxville Register,* May 31, 1848.

tion. The announcement was careful to state that the Society was not connected in any way with the Seminary.[50]

On February 28, 1853, members of the Knoxville Musical Society gave a concert in the large Store Room of Mr. C. H. Coffin "for the purpose of raising means to defray the expenses of transporting the Free blacks from Knox County in March next, to Liberia."[51]

Still another music organization was active in 1856, for the East Tennessee Musical Association gave its first concert in January of that year under the direction of Mr. A. A. Barnes, Esq., who, according to the 1850 census,[52] was a native of Vermont. The *Register* stated this association was "formed for the mutual improvement of its members in singing, and their concert, the other evening, testified well for the benefits already acquired from their social meetings."[53] How long any of the organizations remained active, or whether or not some were organized only for a performance or so, is not known.

In 1847-48 the East Tennessee Female Institute and the Knoxville Female Seminary were vying with each other as to the effectiveness of thier music teaching. Guitar, harp, and accordion were being taught in addition to the usual piano and vocal music. These two schools had other competition in 1859, for Miss E. Sterchi's School employed Mr. R. T. Steinhagen, "late of Riverside Hall, Monroe County,"[54] to teach vocal and instrumental music and also modern languages and art. Mr. Steinhagen could teach four foreign languages and could also tune pianos. Just before the War Between the States still other competition was present, for the Daughter's Collegiate Institute also taught both vocal and instrumental music. A unique addition to the advertisement of this school reads: "each pupil will be required to PRACTICE the allotted time daily on the Instruments belonging to the school, for which there will be no extra charge."[55]

The institutions were not the only places where music was taught. There were numerous private teachers from time to time who gave lessons in their homes. The singing school movement was still in full

[50] *Ibid.,* June 21, 1848.
[51] *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Independent Journal,* February 26, 1853.
[52] Laura Elizabeth Luttrell (comp.), *United States Census 1850 for Knox County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1949), 55.
[53] *Knoxville Register,* January 17, 1856.
[54] *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* January 29, 1859.
[55] *Knoxville Register,* July 23, 1861.

swing, too. R. G. Williams, teacher at Knoxville Female Seminary, had a juvenile singing school "for the young of both sexes" in the Second Presbyterian Church, and "concerts were given from time to time affording parents and others an opportunity of witnessing the improvement of the scholars" in learning to "sing by note."[56] Still another juvenile singing school was in session in 1855 under Miss F. M. Clark at the Baptist Church. Miss Clark came highly recommended by "her former teacher, Mr. Baker, of Boston."[57]

Mr. Baker was Prof. Benjamin Franklin Baker (1811-1889), who succeeded Lowell Mason in the Boston schools,[58] and who headed what is thought to have been the first musical convention in Knoxville, November 8-13, 1855. This convention is described briefly in the November 8, 1855, *Knoxville Register.* There were three sessions daily, "morning, evening and night." The time during the day was devoted to instruction and practice in the elementary principles of music. At night were rehearsals preparatory to a concert given at the Baptist Church on the last night of the convention.

Reference already has been made to the fact that Knoxville seemed well supplied with music and instruction books both by local merchants and by mail order from houses in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other places. Many of Lowell Mason's music books were advertised soon after publication, particularly his *New Carmina Sacra* and *The Hallelujah.* Also, a local musician, M. L. Swan, must be given due credit for his *The Harp of Columbia,* "a new system of Vocal Music, in which the science is symplified, and the art of correct singing made easy."[59] This was a popular book used in the singing schools.

Concert life was growing in quantity and quality. In an article urging that music be taught in all the schools to both boys and girls, a university student, whose name was not given, praised the singing he had heard at a recent concert and said there should be more good concerts in Knoxville.[60]

Minstrel shows came to Knoxville, and *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Independent Journal* for November 10, 1849, describes a

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[56] *Ibid.,* August 2, 1855.
[57] *Knoxville Standard,* September 13, 1855.
[58] John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music* (New York, 1954), 147.
[59] *Knoxville Register,* July 20, 1850.
[60] "Vocal Music," *The University Magazine,* I, No. 1 (November, 1841), 3. This magazine was published by the senior class at East Tennessee University.

vocal and instrumental concert by W. Parrow's Sable Minstrels, "headed by Parrow, the unequaled Negro dileniator [*sic*], assisted by Sweeny, the great Banjo player, Melton on the Flute, and Gales, the distinguished vocalist and negro dancer." "Sweeny" was probably Joel Walker Sweeney (1813-1860), who originated the five-string banjo and travelled with various minstrel shows.[61]

A concert was given in the courthouse on November 3, 1851, by Henry Harig, who had performed quite successfully in Europe and many cities in the North. He was assisted by Captain and Mrs. N. Fatio, local musicians.[62]

The Swiss Bell Ringers appeared in Knoxville at a Baptist church supper and also at the courthouse in 1854.[63]

Still functioning in 1855 was the Knoxville Brass Band, as it gave a concert at the Coleman House, a local hotel. Captain Fatio led the band and also performed on the cornopeon; his wife played the piano (she taught piano in Knoxville); and a Mr. Worms, a violinist from New Orleans, was so well received that he returned the following year for several concerts assisted by the Fatios.[64] Also in 1855 the Blakely Orchestral Chorus Company, consisting of two ladies and three gentlemen from the Boston and New York academies of music, gave a series of concerts at the courthouse. This must have been an important occasion, for the *Knoxville Standard* wrote, "We are assured that the Court House will be cleansed and neatly lighted."[65]

There may have been some local concerts of vocal music by a special group about this time, for H. M. Butler advertised thusly in the February 11, 1855, *Knoxville Register:*

> Musical Rehearsal
>
> The subscriber would be happy to meet all the vocalists, and especially the numbers of the different Choirs of this city, for practicing familiar tunes and anthems, and learning new music. These rehearsals are especially designed to unite the musical talent of the place and prepare a company for effective singing on public occasions. Terms $1.00 for 10 rehearsals, to be held every pleasant Friday. . . .

A musical prodigy known as "The Infant Drummer" appeared in

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[61] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music* (New York, 1955), 262.
[62] *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* November 1, 1851.
[63] *American Statesman* (Knoxville), January 7, 1854.
[64] *Knoxville Register,* December 27, 1855.
[65] *Ibid.,* March 7, 1855.

Knoxville in 1856.[66] This was one of many entertainments given at the Mansion House.

Prof. Erdman, teacher at the East Tennessee Female Institute, gave a series of concerts in 1857.[67] That same year the celebrated blind flutist, Mr. Gorenflo, gave concerts assisted by local amateurs in Knoxville.[68]

Concerts in 1858 included those by a Sight-Singing Troupe consisting of "Messrs. Beale and Patterson and their ladies, at Lamar House," and a series of farewell concerts by the Vail Troupe. The former gave a lecture on the science of music at the Second Presbyterian Church and also proposed to teach the art of singing in a series of eight lessons.[69] The Vail Troupe was headed by Miss Anna Vail, a soprano who was ending a successful concert tour in America and soon was sailing home to Europe. Also included were the Mollenhauer brothers, Eduard and Friedrich, great violinists, and Theodore Schreiner, the talented pianist, composer, and pupil of Liszt.[70]

As 1861 drew near, even more numerous were the concerts by pupils of local music teachers and of local schools, such as the regular entertainments of the East Tennessee Female Institute.

The foregoing has been a view of the musical life in Knoxville up to the War Between the States. It may be seen that Knoxville was not only growing in the expected ways in which most progressive southern towns were growing at that time, but its musical activities were comparable to any place of its size and age in the United States. Names of some of the people who were to play important parts in the shaping of musical life of the post-war period already had made their appearances in the newspapers; names such as Krutch (E. Krutch, music teacher at Daughters' Collegiate Institute), Wicks (Mrs. V. A. Wicks, music teacher at East Tennessee Female Institute), and others. Many developments were taking place in Knoxville's musical life: concerts were beginning to include better music and more artistic performers; music was being taught by well-trained teachers; merchants were making available all kinds of music and musical instruments; and musical societies were being formed.

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[66] *Ibid.*, November 20, 1856.
[67] *Ibid.*, January 8 and 29, February 12, July 23, 1857.
[68] *Ibid.*, May 21, 1857.
[69] *Ibid.*, February 11, 1858.
[70] *Southern Citizen* (Knoxville), May 13, 1858.

ANDREW JOHNSON'S REPUTATION

By Willard Hays

(Continued from *Publications* No. 31)

III. "Canonization" Comes With Augmented Interest: 1927-1932

The year 1927 marked the beginning of a six-year period during which Andrew Johnson was studied more intensively and pictured more favorably than at any time before or since. Between 1927 and 1932, in addition to books on the Reconstruction period and a number of magazine articles dealing with various aspects of Johnson's career, three major biographies of the seventeenth President were published. Almost without exception, the authors of the late twenties and early thirties were sympathetic toward the "plebeian" President.

The decision of the Supreme Court in *Myers vs. United States,* a case in which an Oregon postmaster maintained that his dismissal by President Wilson had been illegal, stimulated interest in Johnson. By a six to three decision, rendered on October 25, 1926, the majority, which included Chief Justice Taft, held that the President does have "the *exclusive power* of removing executive officers of the United States whom he has appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."[1] This decision seemed to prove that President Johnson had been right in his removal of Secretary Stanton, the only substantial charge brought against him by the managers of the impeachment. Significantly, two of Johnson's biographers, Lloyd Paul Stryker and Judge Robert W. Winston, as well as James H. Malone, author of one of the more notable articles, were men of legal background.

Although the first of the book-length studies did not appear until 1928, two articles, printed in 1927, both of which reached a rather wide audience, presaged their coming. The title of one, Malone's, "The Supreme Court Vindicates Andrew Johnson," indicates that it was directly inspired by the Court's decision in the Myers case. Publishing it first in *Current History* and later reading it with minor changes to

[1] *Myers v. United States,* 272 U.S. 52 (1926).

the Tennessee Bar Association, Malone, a former mayor of Memphis, asserted that other writers had misrepresented Johnson.[2] He approved the President's "pacific course," praised his devotion to the Constitution, and maintained that he was not a "mere ignoramus," as some had pictured him, but was instead "blessed with a profound intellect."[3] The second article, written by Margarita S. Gerry, appeared in *The Century Magazine.* Although she admitted that the Washington's Birthday speech was "An extraordinary lapse of dignity" and that on the "swing-around the circle" Johnson "lost the respect of many thinking men," the author approved Johnson's basic policy and attributed its defeat largely to factors beyond the President's control—his lack of solid party backing when he took office, and the enmity between Congress and the executive that had been developing under Lincoln. She pictured Johnson—"a passionate Constitutionalist" who "conceived it his duty to carry out the policy that Lincoln had inaugurated"—as bravely fighting his great predecessor's fight, "a struggle . . . which . . . dwarfed in difficulty even the long agony of the war. We can never be certain that the crazed fanatic did not save Lincoln from a fate so cruel that, beside it, to die at the height of life's triumph, was benediction."[4]

Striking a somewhat discordant note during the same year, Marguerite Hall Albjerg charged in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* that Johnson, whom she felt to be honest and well-meaning, by refusing to compromise with northern moderates, not only lost vital congressional support but also alienated conservative New York papers whose backing might have saved his program.[5]

The three biographies—Robert W. Winston's *Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot* (1928); Lloyd Paul Stryker's *Andrew Johnson, A Study in Courage* (1929); and George Fort Milton's *The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* (1930)—presented strikingly similar pictures of Johnson. One biographer, Milton, also expressed his views of the seventeenth President in two magazine articles, one,

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[2] James H. Malone, "The Vindication of Andrew Johnson," *Proceedings* of the Forty-sixth Annual Session of the Bar Association of Tennessee (1927), 125, 131. This article is almost identical with *id.,* "The Supreme Court Vindicates Andrew Johnson," *Current History,* XXVI (April, 1927), 7-12.

[3] Malone, "Vindication," 125-26, 128.

[4] Margarita Spalding Gerry, "The Real Andrew Johnson," *The Century Magazine,* CXV (November, December, 1927), 56-58, 62-64, 220-22.

[5] Marguerite Hall Albjerg, "The New York Press and Andrew Johnson," *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* XXVI (October, 1927), 407, 415-16.

"Canonization of a Maligned President," appearing in *The Independent* in 1928, and the other, "Andrew Johnson—Man of Courage," in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* in 1931.

One point of similarity was that each of the three biographers, perhaps to enhance the significance of his own work, either ignored or discounted the efforts of earlier friendly writers, and announced that his mission was to vindicate a great man who had been misunderstood and unfairly treated by both his contemporaries and historians. Milton, editor of the Chattanooga *News*, declared: "Andrew Johnson was truly a magnificent American. Surely it is time that history gave him a square deal."[6] Stryker, who, of the three, saw fewest faults in Johnson and the sins of his enemies most black, treated earlier writers almost as harshly as he did the President's Radical opponents. Maintaining that "the time has come when justice should be done to Andrew Johnson," the great New York trial lawyer charged: ". . . the historians have stirred the old embers of hate and in the form of 'history' have given us little better than a digest of contemporary calumnies. . . . The writers of our history never speak of Andrew Johnson save with disrespect."[7] In the case of men like Dunning and Schouler, who, far from giving just "a digest of contemporary calumnies," spoke of Johnson with considerable respect, such an accusation could hardly be substantiated.

All three biographers created a sympathetic picture of Johnson by depicting his lowly origins and his heroic struggle to overcome his early economic and educational disadvantages. Winston told how the young tailor's devoted wife helped him with reading and writing, how he walked four miles each way, regardless of the weather, to take part in college debates, and how, as a congressman, while his colleagues were taking pleasure trips, he worked to improve his handwriting and grammar, and assiduously read books borrowed from the Library of Congress.[8] Milton and Stryker recounted much the same story, the latter declaring that Johnson, far from being ignorant and uneducated as his enemies charged, had, by his own efforts acquired "an education which would have been difficult to surpass at Harvard." The New Yorker

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[6] George Fort Milton, "Canonization of a Maligned President," *The Independent*, CXXI (September 1, 1928), 217.

[7] Lloyd Paul Stryker, *Andrew Johnson: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1929), vii-viii.

[8] Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, c. 1928), 18-20, 43.

proclaimed that "democracy was vindicated" by Andrew Johnson's climb from poverty to the chief magistracy of the nation.[9]

One of the most prominent features of all three biographies, and one which was much more pronounced in them than in earlier works, was the emphasis placed on Johnson's proposals for a more thoroughgoing democracy and his efforts to help the common man. Winston declared that Johnson, "the most democratic of presidents," a political disciple of Jefferson and Jackson, but one who never partook of the aristocratic life of these two earlier proponents of democracy, was "the only President who practiced what he preached, drawing no distinction between rich and poor, or high and low." To show his subject's role in "the battle of the homeless and the landless," Winston pointed out that Johnson, as governor of Tennessee, had secured the passage of a measure for tax-supported public schools; that in Congress, by popularizing and winning acceptance of the idea of free land for settlers, as opposed to the practice of disposing of government land for revenue, he became the "Father of the Homestead"; and that in his message to Congress in 1868, as in some of his earlier speeches, he proposed the direct election of President, Vice President, and senators.[10] Echoing the North Carolina judge's sentiments, Milton labelled Johnson "one of the first of the Progressives,"[11] while Stryker declared: "The hopes, the fears, and the discouragements of the laboring classes he understood with his heart as well as with his mind. He became . . . their defender."[12]

The three biographers paid tribute to Johnson's devotion to the Union and the Constitution. Judge Winston charged that Stevens and Sumner were "fighting for Abolition," while Lincoln and Johnson were "fighting for the life of the Union." The North Carolina jurist maintained that it was attachment to the Constitution, rather than animosity toward the Negro, that caused Johnson to veto the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights bills, measures he felt would have threatened state and civil authority. Johnson, according to Winston, voluntarily endured the wrath of his native section, suffered the calumnies of the Radicals, and sacrificed his personal success because of love for his country and

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[9] Stryker, *Andrew Johnson,* 22, 195.
[10] Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* xiv, 41, 80, 139-40, 467.
[11] George Fort Milton, *The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* (New York, 1930), 87.
[12] Stryker, *Andrew Johnson,* 9.

its Constitution. "If he must be a martyr," the Judge wrote, "so be it, he was willing to go down with the Constitution."[13] Stryker was perhaps even more emphatic on this point. "Nowhere in the North," he asserted, "was there a stronger voice speaking for the Union. In the South, Johnson stood single-handed as its champion." Still pressing his point, the lawyer exclaimed: "The Old Dominion might secede, North Carolina might secede, his own state might secede, but Andrew Johnson would not secede!" As for the former tailor's attitude toward the Constitution, the New Yorker declared: "Second in intensity only to his love for Eliza McCardle and his children, was Johnson's passion for the Constitution of his country."[14] Similarly, Milton, who thought that signing the Civil Rights Bill would have been politically expedient, held that the President could not "in conscience approve a measure which he believed broke the Constitution into bits." The editor also pointed out that in the Senate, during the latter part of 1860, Johnson fought for "the sacred cause of the Union," and that he risked his life by speaking against secession in his native state after Ft. Sumter.[15]

Needless to say, the three writers approved Johnson's reconstruction program. Winston felt that Lincoln and Johnson, in opposing the disfranchising of the whites and the forcing of Negro suffrage on the South, had wisely accepted the fact that the customs and beliefs of a people could not be changed overnight. He held that Radical reconstruction, on the other hand, had only bred further hatred, which, in the long run, had hurt rather than helped the Negro.[16]

Stryker, who assumed that the black race was centuries behind the white in "mental capacity and moral force," staunchly supported Johnson's stand against forced Negro suffrage.[17] Of Johnson's struggle with Congress on this question, he asserted:

> It was the issue between Abraham Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens, between charity and malice, statesmanship and chicane, justice and oppression, constitutional government and unlawful military domination, sportsmanship and foul play, sound understanding of the negro problem and spurious philanthropy, between binding up the nation's wounds and throwing salt into them, between justly achieving a lasting

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[13] Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* 206, 341-42, 348-49, 379, 393.
[14] Stryker, *Andrew Johnson,* 17, 61, 80.
[15] Milton, *Age of Hate,* 98, 105, 308.
[16] Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* 373-74, 513, 517.
[17] Stryker, *Andrew Johnson,* 294.

peace, and the stirring up of hatreds that would endure for fifty years![18]

One of the techniques the eminent attorney used to gain sympathy for Johnson was constantly to identify his work with that of the martyred Lincoln. "Johnson," he wrote, "took not only Lincoln's place, but his plan of reconstruction also. . . . Johnson put his back to the wall and fought Lincoln's fight." "Abraham Lincoln," the New Yorker continued, "had he lived, would have been crucified by the Radicals in Congress. Andrew Johnson suffered that crucifixion for him."[19] Milton, too, commended the President's stand against the Radicals, whose program he characterized as one whereby "a prostrate people" was "sacrificed to hate."[20]

While blaming the defeat of the President's policy largely on the executive-legislative rivalry that antedated his administration, Winston, who was less inclined than either Stryker or Milton to gloss over his subject's faults, conceded that Johnson's troubles stemmed partly from his failure to compromise with congressional moderates, and from his "unfortunate speeches" in 1866.[21] Milton, although admitting that "Johnson was afflicted with the fatal vice of hesitation"[22] and was often "unhappy in language,"[23] attributed the defeat of the President's program primarily to Radical misrepresentations of his speeches and policy, the Democratic mistake of putting forward candidates in 1866 who, although voters might approve their pro-Johnson reconstruction views, were unacceptable because of "copperhead" records during the war, and the opposition of northern money interests to the low-tariff Tennessean.[24]

Stryker contended that Johnson's program was beaten almost entirely because of unscrupulous Radical schemes and the failure of the Democrats, whose political philosophy he endorsed, to give him the support his cause deserved. The lawyer-biographer either minimized or denied the shortcomings commonly attributed to the President. Although such loyal administration supporters as Hugh McCulloch and Gideon Welles had deplored it, Stryker maintained that Johnson's

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[18] *Ibid.,* 278.
[19] *Ibid.,* vii.
[20] Milton, *Age of Hate,* 15, 189; *id.,* "Canonization," 201-02.
[21] Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* 325-26, 333, 390, 393-94.
[22] Milton, *Age of Hate,* 276.
[23] Milton, "Canonization," 202.
[24] Milton, *Age of Hate,* 359, 363-64, 370.

February 22 speech was justified. "It was time that Johnson should thus throw down the gauntlet to Lincoln's enemies," he declared. Stryker attributed the disastrous effects of the "swing-around the circle" to biased accounts published in Radical papers rather than to any lapse from dignity on Johnson's part. While conceding that the President might have won support by an extensive use of patronage, he held that the failure to do so "came from nothing so much as from sheer honesty." One of the few mistakes Stryker ascribed to Johnson was his "incredible blunder" in not removing Stanton earlier, an error he explained on the ground that the President's own lack of duplicity made it difficult for him to recognize treachery in others.[25]

Stryker's subtitle, *A Study in Courage,* and the title of one of Milton's articles, "Andrew Johnson—Man of Courage," indicate a quality that was stressed by these two, and, to a lesser extent, by Winston. Stryker pointed out that Johnson often demonstrated his physical bravery—in the rough and tumble politics of pre-war Tennessee, as a Union spokesman in the South after Sumter, and as military governor of his adopted state—but that he showed an even rarer type of courage in his determination to stand by the Union, and, above all, by his decision to follow Lincoln's plan rather than submit to the wishes of the Radicals. The New Yorker exclaimed:

> How easy would it have been for Johnson to cast his fortunes with the Radicals,—to join with them in the hue and cry against the South! This would have meant the approval of the Republican leaders, the acclaim of their followers and the praise of their historical apologists. There was nothing against such a course except justice and honor. Knowing that to follow Lincoln instead of Stevens would turn the fires of hatred against himself . . . Andrew Johnson pressed forward with his work;—Lincoln's work![26]

"It was," proclaimed Stryker, "one of the great decisions in the history of the Republic! . . . he had weighed the opposition . . . he chose the course he thought was right,—for the sole reason that it was right."[27]

Milton, although more willing to recognize Johnson's shortcomings, reiterated Stryker's sentiments as to the President's courage when he wrote:

> An . . . outstanding trait of his character was courage; not merely physical courage—many men have this, only to quail before the impact

[25] Stryker, *Andrew Johnson,* 281-82, 328-29, 340, 354, 422.
[26] *Ibid.,* 218-19.
[27] *Ibid.,* 214.

> of a thought. Nor alone the courage of intellectual honesty; Johnson had this, but he had that third and rare type as well, a moral courage which held him true to principle irrespective of its effect upon himself. His career as president can best be epitomized by the phrase, "Courage in the White House." He made many mistakes in judgment; he made many errors in reading the hearts of men; he was guilty of some disastrous temporizings; but he had courage of a notable type.[28]

The biographers agreed that Johnson was not intemperate in his use of strong drink. Admitting that, at his inauguration as Vice President, "Johnson made a spectacle of himself" by "one of the most unfortunate 'drunks' a mortal ever engaged in," Judge Winston explained that the Tennessean had taken whiskey because of illness. He also denied Rhodes' assertions that the "swing-around the circle" had been "an indecent orgy" and that the President had been drunk at Cleveland.[29] Stryker justified Johnson's slip at the inauguration in the same way.[30]

The three writers also concurred in the view that Johnson deserved credit for both his policy and his state papers, and that his use of competent advisers, like Seward and George Bancroft, was a mark of his own ability as a leader. Stryker expressed the sentiments of all three when he declared that "one of Johnson's finest qualities was his ability to recognize and his willingness to accept the counsel of able men."[31]

Johnson's enemies fared badly in the hands of his biographers. Stryker, somewhat more vicious than the other two, called Charles Sumner "a narrow, bigoted, opinionated, smug, complacent, muddle-headed man!" and declared that Thaddeus Stevens "was exerting all his power to bring about the degradation of the South. It would be a beautiful thing, he thought, to watch the white men, especially the white women of the South, writhing under negro domination."[32] Against such despicable men, in the view of these writers, stood Andrew Johnson—the man of courage, the defender of the "three flames which . . . [he] worshipped—the Union, the Constitution, and the common man."[33]

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[28] George Fort Milton, "Andrew Johnson—Man of Courage," The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 3 (January, 1931), 28.

[29] Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* 265, 371.

[30] Stryker, *Andrew Johnson,* 167.

[31] *Ibid.,* 215-16.

[32] *Ibid.,* 44, 706.

[33] Milton, "Canonization," 217.

Johnson's policy, character, and executive ability were extensively examined in studies of the Reconstruction period as well as in the three biographies. Claude Bowers, in *The Tragic Era* (1929), took the same position as Winston, Stryker, and Milton. Characterizing Johnson as "Honest, inflexible, tender, able, forceful, and tactless," Bowers, like the biographers, spoke of the Tennessean's "two passions—the Constitution and the Union" and of his "devotion to the masses," declared that he sought "to carry out the conciliatory and wise policy of Lincoln," and pictured him as fighting a heroic battle to maintain the constitutional relationship between the three branches of government. Although conceding that Johnson had "an incurable deficiency in tact that was to curse him through life," Bowers defended both the Washington's Birthday speech and the "swing-around the circle," saying of the former, "Provocation enough he had had," and of the latter, "Everywhere the mob was the aggressor. . . . Newspapers and magazines teemed with misrepresentations and falsehoods, and no one was more culpable than the cultured James Russell Lowell in the 'North American Review'." Bowers blamed this propaganda, along with other Radical schemes, for the defeat of the presidential program.[34]

Howard K. Beale's *The Critical Year* (1930), a carefully documented study of the campaign of 1866, although containing a sympathetic picture of Johnson, was far from being an apologia. Beale portrayed the seventeenth President as a well-intentioned, courageous, honest, and hard-working executive. His opinion of the Tennessean's sobriety was emphatic: "It was a day of hard drinking, but Johnson was not one of the hard drinkers." Beale, who depicted the former Greeneville tailor as the champion of the worker and the small farmer, and the implacable foe of those who would give public land to railroads and other business interests rather than to actual settlers, declared that the veto of measures to sell valuable mineral lands at $1.25 an acre stamped Johnson as "one of the first of the great conservators of our national resources."[35]

Feeling that in 1865 the Negro was too illiterate and inexperienced to assume the responsibilities of self-government, Beale regarded

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[34] Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln* (n.p., 1929), 31, v, 43-44, 104, 138.

[35] Howard K. Beale, *The Critical Year: A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (New York, c. 1930), 12, 23, 265, 270-71.

Johnson's decision to leave the government of the South in the hands of its experienced leaders as correct.[36]

Johnson, in Beale's opinion, faced an almost impossible situation in 1866. He was distrusted by the North because he was a Southerner, by the Republicans because he was a Democrat, and by the Democrats because he had been elected on a thinly disguised Republican ticket. Moreover, the fight with the Radicals was so difficult that it was a "moot question" whether even Lincoln could have won.[37] But though Johnson's program might have been defeated in any case, he must still, in Beale's view, be charged with several political blunders. First, Beale, who regarded the belated attempt to form a pro-Johnson party at Philadelphia as little more than a pep rally, contended that had Johnson, early in 1866, provided more decisive leadership for a moderate program and shown more willingness to cooperate with conservative members of Congress he might have been able to create a party to support his policy.[38] An even more serious mistake was Johnson's failure to stress economic issues that might have cost the Radicals western support. The most important of these was the protective tariff, supported by the Radicals and eastern business interests, but unpopular in the agrarian West. Johnson, although opposed to protection, committed "a fatal error in political judgment" by allowing the Radicals to keep this question in the background.[39] A further reason for the failure of the presidential program was the skillful Radical propaganda "campaign of abuse and misrepresentation," which played on post-war bitterness, fear, and hysteria to discredit the President, increase northern distrust of the South, and hide their own views on economic issues.[40] To make matters worse for Johnson, race riots in New Orleans and Memphis came at just the right time to furnish the Radicals valuable material for their propaganda campaign.[41] Thus, while granting that Johnson often displayed poor political judgment, Beale concluded that bad luck and Radical machinations were prime factors in the defeat of administration candidates in 1866.

In a more flamboyant work, *The Fiery Epoch* (1931), Charles

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[36] *Ibid.*, 1-2, 141-42, 177, 188-89, 204.
[37] *Ibid.*, 46, 58-59.
[38] *Ibid.*, 137, 26-27.
[39] *Ibid.*, 7-9, 271, 274, 297-99.
[40] *Ibid.*, 65-66, 76, 139, 300, 362-63, 367-69, 406.
[41] *Ibid.*, 343.

Willis Thompson expressed views very similar to those of Beale. Like Beale, he contended that Radical "ingenuity" and "rough riding tactics" contributed to the defeat of the presidential program, but that Johnson had hurt his own cause by not organizing a moderate party with effective political machinery and by failing to split the Radicals on the tariff question.[42] In the way he identified Johnson's work with Lincoln's and in his disparaging references to the President's enemies, Thompson resembled Stryker. He maintained:

> President Johnson stood by Lincoln. He devoted himself to carrying out the dead man's policy and thwarting the lust for vengeance on the men who had surrendered at Appomattox. To the end of his term he stood like a boulder in their path. In the main he failed, for they passed their bills over his steady vetoes and established the American Reign of Terror in the South.[43]

Although Johnson's career, especially as President, was examined much less thoroughly in *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (1932) than in the biographies or the studies of the Reconstruction era, Thomas Perkins Abernethy was as emphatic as Stryker, Milton, or Winston in pointing out the Tennessean's devotion to the laboring classes. He wrote:

> Andrew Jackson, the pioneer and planter, was never possessed of class consciousness. Andrew Johnson, the tailor, never escaped it. He was the only true and outstanding democrat produced by the Old South, for he never was absorbed into the privileged class; he never ceased to be one of the people . . . he never erred from his purpose of improving the condition of the masses, politically, economically and intellectually.[44]

W. M. Caskey, in an article in The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* on Johnson's first term as governor, expressed a similar view, declaring that Johnson "played well the admirable role he had set himself as 'the friend of the people'."[45]

Although her article in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* in 1931 was primarily a study of the relationship between Johnson's plan of reconstruction and Lincoln's, Rena Mazyck Andrews also mentioned the former tailor's interest in the rights of the common man.[46] As

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[42] Charles Willis Thompson, *The Fiery Epoch, 1830-1877* (Indianapolis, c. 1931), 333-34.

[43] *Ibid.*, 330.

[44] Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 357.

[45] W. M. Caskey, "First Administration of Governor Andrew Johnson," The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 1 (1929), 58.

[46] Rena Mazyck Andrews, "Johnson's Plan of Restoration in Relation to That of Lincoln," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Ser. II, Vol. I (April, 1931), 167.

regards the reconstruction plan, the Michigan State College history instructor concluded that it was almost identical with Lincoln's. She further asserted that Lincoln and Johnson were very much alike in background and personality, the most notable difference being in tact, and that Lincoln probably would have acted in much the same way that Johnson did.[47] Feeling that both the reconstruction plan and Johnson's attempt to execute it were sound, she decided that chance was the prime factor in the President's failure. Whereas Lincoln had been extremely lucky—the fall of Atlanta coming at just the right time to ensure his re-election in 1864—Johnson suffered almost equally incredible bad luck—the riots at Memphis and New Orleans occurring at a most inopportune time during the campaign of 1866.[48]

The apex of interest in Andrew Johnson was reached between 1927 and 1932, a period in which the rehabilitation of the reputation of the only President to be impeached was completed. The writers of this period were almost unanimous in picturing Johnson as sometimes tactless and overly hesitant, but always honest, intelligent, temperate, courageous, devoted to the Union and the Constitution, and, above all, the champion of the common man. While some authors still pointed out that Johnson had made political mistakes, most now agreed that these were less important than unsavory Radical tactics and unfortunate circumstances in bringing about the defeat of the presidential program.

When examining the causes of the two most striking characteristics of the period, intensified attention to Johnson and an extremely favorable evaluation, it becomes apparent that the factors contributing to one also fostered the other. Apparently, the Supreme Court decision in the Myers case, late in 1926, was the immediate cause of the new interest. If Johnson were right in his dispute with Congress over the removal of Stanton, was it not possible that he was right in other matters? James H. Malone's article was directly inspired by this decision, Winston and Stryker, a judge and a trial lawyer, were well aware of the court's verdict, and most other writers cited it as evidence of Johnson's vindication.

The emphasis given to Johnson's devotion to the small farmer and worker suggests that the works of this period were a reaction

[47] *Ibid.*, 165-66, 171-72, 175. The author suggested that "Honest Andy" was as appropriate a nickname as "Honest Abe."
[48] *Ibid.*, 179.

against Republican-Big Business political and economic supremacy. Although these studies began appearing before the stock market crash in 1929, they reflected the discontent that eventually swept the New Deal into power. Significantly, Johnson's four most vigorous defenders, Winston, Stryker, Milton, and Bowers, were Democrats.[49] Despite the prosperity of the twenties, there was evidence of dissatisfaction among workers and agrarians with the high tariff, with the "less government in business and more business in government" policies of Harding and his successors, Coolidge and Hoover. Farmers had benefited less than other groups from the boom of the post-war decade, and workers, although generally well paid, often feared job insecurity, and, in some cases were forced to accept pre-war hours and wages. It is notable that several of Johnson's defenders were from the agrarian South. As early as 1924 discontent was such that almost 5,000,000 voters, finding even the Democratic platform too conservative, supported Robert LaFollette, who ran for President on a farmer-labor program. By 1928 even the Republicans recognized the necessity of appeasing dissatisfied agrarians when they nominated Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas as Hoover's running-mate.

Although the honesty of neither Coolidge nor Hoover has ever been questioned, disclosures, after Harding's death in 1923, of graft and corruption under the "Ohio gang" brought further discredit to the Republican party. To those who opposed the party in power, what figure could have been more symbolic than the impeccably honest "plebeian" from Tennessee?

Johnson's vindicators were, of course, aided by the documents that had become available earlier—the Johnson manuscripts and Welles' *Diary*—as well as by the work of the preceding group of pro-Johnson historians. The question of racial equality continued to lie dormant, making Johnson's stand on Negro suffrage still acceptable to both North and South. A growing tendency among historians to interpret the past in terms of complex social and economic forces rather than to regard it as merely a record of the successes and failures of political leaders made the opinion that Johnson's failure was caused chiefly

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[49] Louise Ilse, "Changing Interpretations of Andrew Johnson's Impeachment," *Social Education,* XI (October, 1947), 257.

by outside circumstances more acceptable than it would have been earlier.

Interest in Johnson declined in the following years, but the favorable picture of Andrew Johnson drawn between 1927 and 1932 has persisted without serious challenge.

IV. Continuing Approval, 1933-Present

The intensive interest in Andrew Johnson which had led to three comprehensive biographies and several other specialized studies declined after 1932. Consequently, attitudes toward the seventeenth President from that time to the present must again be sought almost entirely in works of a general nature. The attitudes themselves, reflecting the scholarship of the first three decades of the century, and especially that of the period just discussed, have generally been favorable, but during a twenty-five year period some divergent views are to be expected. Thus far, although possibly portending a major or minor shift in interpretation, the dissenting opinions have been too few and too scattered to be regarded as representing a definite trend.

This period opens with the belated publication, in 1933, of the *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*. This *Diary*, like the works of Hugh McCulloch and Gideon Welles, gives a candid picture of Johnson as he appeared to one of his closest associates. It is interesting and perhaps significant that the three cabinet officers were in substantial agreement in regard to their chief. Like several others who later became friendly toward Johnson, the future secretary of the interior was distressed by the Vice President's behavior at the inauguration in 1865. In his entry for March 4 the diarist recorded that the former Senator's speech "disgusted all decent people who heard him." A year later, however, although not yet in Johnson's cabinet, Lincoln's friend and adviser had come to the conclusion that the new President was following the program most likely to restore the nation's unity and harmony,[50] and that he had "done more, periled more, and suffered more for the Country than any of his revilers."[51] Browning's *Diary* reinforced rather than changed or added to the prevailing view of Johnson. Hence, it inspired no new studies or interpretations. Many

[50] Orville Hickman Browning, *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (2 vols. Springfield, 1925-c. 1933), II, 9.

[51] *Ibid.*, 71n.

subsequent writers accepted almost without modification the Milton-Stryker-Winston picture of Johnson—honest, courageous, abused, fighting for the common man, the Constitution, and a conciliatory reconstruction policy, beaten by hate and bad luck. One such writer was Richard Purcell, whose article, "The Misjudged Andrew Johnson," published in *The Catholic Educational Review* in December, 1933, was little more than a review and summary of the work of the three biographers.[52] The article is significant primarily because it shows that the new, highly favorable judgment of President Johnson was being accepted and disseminated.

Several other works bear witness to the widespread acceptance of the views put forward in the late twenties and early thirties. Paul Buck, in his admirable study of the regrowth of national unity between the war and the turn of the century, *The Road to Reunion*, published in 1937, adopted the thesis that Lincoln and Johnson had followed the formula most likely to achieve a prompt restoration of national good feeling, but that the latter had been victimized by a "Juggernaut" of Radical propaganda and his policy overthrown for one which led to "disorder worse than war, and oppression unequalled in American annals."[53]

Also in 1937, J. G. Randall took much the same position toward Lincoln's successor in *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, perhaps the most authoritative study yet made of the war and post-war years. Randall, sympathetic in his treatment of southern problems, not only held that the Lincoln-Johnson program, aimed as it was at the restoration of the Union rather than the subjugation of the South or interference with states' rights, was the course which should have been followed, but also maintained that Johnson, in following it, despite its ultimate defeat, made a real contribution to the recovery of the former Confederate states. The state governments the President set up brought a measure of order to the South at a very critical period, according to Randall, who added:

> If one would seek to measure the importance of this, let him contemplate what would have been the result if these commonwealths had made no such adjustment and had waited several years for Congress to supply the pattern for state governments. Instead of saying that

[52] Richard J. Purcell, "The Misjudged Andrew Johnson," *The Catholic Educatioanl Review*, XXXI (December, 1933), 587-600.

[53] Paul H. Buck. *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston, 1937), 5, 21, 24-25.

> reconstruction had been solved by Congress in 1868, the truer generalization would be that the transition to normal polity in the South had been pretty well worked out by Johnson, that it was violently interrupted by the Radicals, and that only after the overthrow of the Radical regime (about 1877) did genuine political reconstruction get under way with any fair prospect for the future.[54]

Randall gave scant credence to the view that the Chief Executive's own mistakes had caused the defeat of his program, blaming instead an almost impossible political situation aggravated by Radical schemes and propaganda. The distinguished Reconstruction historian also paid tribute to the Tennessean's interest in the common man, commended his physical and moral courage, and rejected the notion that he was intemperate.[55]

Neither Randall nor Buck can be accused of accepting uncritically the views propounded by the biographers discussed in the preceding section, yet the influence of these three, and of Howard Beale, is unmistakable. That historians of such competence could accept the basic Milton-Stryker-Winston evaluation gives it added weight.

The passionate tone of Matthew Josephson's *The Politicos,* published a year later, stands in sharp contrast to the calm analysis of Randall and Buck. There is also a shift of emphasis, with Josephson, censurer of the "robber barons," paying much more attention to the "plebeian" President's opposition to big business and his corollary defense of the laborer and small farmer. Fundamentally, however, the picture is much the same. While approving the reconstruction program, Josephson reserved his most lavish praise for Johnson's work in behalf of the Homestead Act, for his veto of measures granting large tracts of the public domain to land and railroad companies, and for his opposition to various special tariffs, contracts, pensions, and appropriations designed to benefit the Radicals' moneyed supporters. Always depicting the Radicals in lurid terms, and identifying them with the northern money interests, Josephson charged that the primary purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment was to protect property, in the form of an artificial person or corporation, from state interference rather than to guard human rights. Implying that Johnson saw through the avowed humanitarian motives and opposed the constitutional change because he saw in it a plot for the aggrandizement of business, Josephson

[54] J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, c. 1937), 853-54.
[55] *Ibid.*, 719, 740, 741, 364-65.

lauded him for lifting "his voice against the new revolutionary principles 'of government for the benefit of industry,' principles as menacing to the welfare of the plain people as the rule of the old slavocracy."[56]

Although not so extravagant in his praise, Louis Hacker likewise paid tribute to Johnson's "fight against the new masters of the nation." In his *Triumph of American Capitalism*, which came off the press in 1940, Hacker contended that the attempt at impeachment was in large measure inspired by the Radicals' desire to remove an obstacle to the interests of industrial capitalism.[57]

Wilfred Binkley, the political scientist, agreed that Johnson was "a champion of the underdog and consequently a menace to some of the most powerful economic interests in America." Binkley's main concern in the *President and Congress,* 1947, however, was with the relationship between executive and legislative power. Although reproaching Johnson for trying to carry through his program without first getting congressional approval, Binkley thought that the most serious threat to the constitutional balance of power came from the subsequent actions of Congress and that the President became, as he himself had maintained, the defender of the Constitution.[58]

During the quarter-century with which this section is concerned, several works on the Presidents or the presidency, some serious studies in political science, others written for a popular audience, presented Andrew Johnson in an extremely favorable light. Herbert Agar, Charles A. Beard, Esse Hathaway, Harold Laski, and Stefan Lorant were among those who looked on Johnson's administration with approbation and at times with admiration.[59] Agar's approval was not unqualified. But even while believing that Johnson had sometimes been found lacking in dignity and political sagacity, Agar emphasized that the Tennessean "was no mere demagogue," spoke favorably of his effort

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[56] Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865-1896* (New York, c. 1938), 24, 50, 52, 56-57.

[57] Louis M. Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism: The Development of Forces in American History to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1940), 374-75.

[58] Wilfred E. Binkley, *President and Congress* (New York, 1947), 129-30, 136, 141-43.

[59] Herbert Agar, *The People's Choice From Washington to Harding: A Study in Democracy* (Boston, c. 1933); Charles A. Beard, *The Presidents in American History* (Rev. edn. New York, c. 1946); Esse V. Hathaway, *The Book of American Presidents* (New York, c. 1939); Harold J. Laski, *The American Presidency, An Interpretation* (New York, c. 1940); Stefan Lorant, *The Presidency: A Pictorial History of Presidential Elections from Washington to Truman* (New York, 1951).

to win fair treatment for the defeated South, and conceded that the task of carrying through a conciliatory policy was perhaps impossible in the face of public bitterness.[60] Beard's account stressed the former tailor's interest in the well-being of the yeoman farmer and the urban worker.[61] Laski, the British political scientist and Laborite politician, found much to admire in the plucky Tennessean. "It is unlikely," he declared, "that presidential courage will again encounter so bitter a fate as Andrew Johnson's."[62]

While a large number of writers were accepting the Milton-Stryker-Winston picture *in toto*, others were less enthusiastic. In 1948, while the White House was occupied by a President who held office by virtue of his predecessor's death, two volumes, *Heirs Apparent* by Klyde Young and Lamar Middleton, and Peter Levin's *Seven by Chance,* reflected an increased awareness of the importance of the vice presidency. Although based in large part on secondary works, both are thoughtful studies presenting an independent interpretation which subjects Johnson to serious criticism. Young and Middleton found much that was admirable in Lincoln's Vice President, one of his most commendable traits being a "consistent sympathy for and interest in the welfare of the underprivileged." "In many ways," they announced, ". . . Johnson was politically far in advance of his times" and had about him "a good deal of the progressive and liberal thinker." The authors also voiced their general approval of the presidential plan for the southern states. On the whole, they felt that his strong convictions and high principles made Johnson "stand out sharply against the succession of Vice-Presidential light-weights." Refusing, however, to accept without qualification the views of those who had attempted to "whitewash" the seventeenth President, they contended that his usefulness as a national leader was seriously impaired by "certain glaring defects of character," notably indecision, tactlessness, and obstinacy. Furthermore, they were unwilling to accept the "apologists'" explanations for Johnson's known breaches of sobriety, declaring that he was "unquestionably a two-fisted drinker."[63]

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[60] Agar, *People's Choice,* 200, 208.

[61] Beard, *Presidents,* 84-85.

[62] Laski, *American Presidency,* 24.

[63] Klyde Young and Lamar Middleton, *Heirs Apparent. The Vice Presidents of the United States* (New York, c. 1948), 163, 165-66, 170, 174-75.

Peter Levin's evaluation of Andrew Johnson is perhaps the most thorough and conscientious to appear in recent years. While paying tribute to his loyalty, courage, and honesty, and voicing approval of his dream of helping the common man, Levin judged the President's course to have been both unjust to the newly freed Negro and tactically unsound. Like Dunning and Kendrick in an earlier period, Levin thought Johnson's major mistake was his failure to cooperate with congressional moderates such as Trumbull and Fessenden. Viewing the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights bills as honest attempts on the part of these moderates to live up to their pledges to guarantee political and economic equality for the Negro, and feeling that congressional conservatives would have upheld the Johnson governments and readmitted the southern states to the union in exchange for presidential approval of these measures, Levin censured Johnson for his vetoes, vetoes that drove the moderates into the Radical camp.[64] Levin's criticism, tempered by sympathy, becomes regret:

> The tragedy of Andrew Johnson is not without its overtones of Greek drama. He was a better than average man. He was an honest man. He held powerful convictions and was firm in defending them. He was obviously courageous. For most of his life, he fought the battle of the common man. Yet, in his character, there was the tragic flaw. His faith was too narrow. He stood by the common man but he would not admit the freed Negro into that fraternity.[65]

Late in 1956 David Donald, writing in *American Heritage,* took an almost identical position. Donald, at the time working on a biography of one of Johnson's bitterest enemies, Charles Sumner, charged that the President failed to provide the vigorous leadership needed during a critical period, that his policy failed to protect the Negroes' basic rights, and that his stubborn and tactless opposition to measures aimed at giving such protection gave the moderates no choice but to join the Radical opposition. Donald, while dismissing the impeachment charges against Johnson, does so only to bring a more serious indictment—"that through political ineptitude he threw away a magnificent opportunity."[66]

One writer mentioned previously, Herbert Agar, although he had withheld his wholehearted endorsement even in 1933, became definitely

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[64] Peter R. Levin, *Seven By Chance: The Accidental Presidents* (New York, 1948), 129, 131.

[65] *Ibid.,* 144.

[66] David Donald, "Why They Impeached Andrew Johnson," *American Heritage,* VIII (December, 1956), 22-23, 103.

more critical of Johnson in his subsequent *The Price of Union.* By 1950 Agar had clearly moved into the "wise policy, poor leadership" camp. "President Johnson," he now declared, "defended the good cause with many mistakes in taste and judgment, hardening the moderate men in Congress against him, and finally alienating the public."[67] The reasons for Agar's shift are not clear, but a comparison of his two books indicates that he gave much more thought to the problem in the later work.

Categorical condemnation of Johnson, although rare in recent years, has not been unknown. The most notable attacks have been by the distinguished Negro historian, W. E. B. DuBois, and a frankly Communist writer, James L. Allen. Although DuBois' *Black Reconstruction,* published in 1935, is a much more important and substantial work than Allen's diatribe, *Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy,* which appeared two years later, the two accounts are equally severe towards Andrew Johnson. DuBois considered the humbly-born President a demagogue and political fumbler who, unable because of his southern, poor-white prejudices to conceive of the former slaves as being entitled to human rights, followed a policy of "Damn the Nigger."[68] Even during the bitter battles of the Reconstruction era there were few words harsher than these:

> The most charitable thing that the defenders of Andrew Johnson can say of him is that occasionally he got drunk; for too much liquor alone would excuse such extraordinary conduct and performances as his Vice-Presidential inauguration, his speech of February 22, 1866, his exhibition at Cleveland, and his St. Louis debauch. If he was not an occasional drunkard, he was God's own fool.[69]

In Allen's confused and confusing attempt to fit Reconstruction history into the Procrustean bed of Marxian dialectic, it is never quite clear just what role "Jefferson Davis Johnson" played in relation to the "bourgeois revolution," but whatever it was, it is evident that it was a sinister one as far as the industrial worker and Negro were concerned. The fruit of presidential reconstruction, in Allen's account, was a "mob shooting down hundeds of Negroes and white Republicans as

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[67] Herbert Agar, *The Price of Union* (Boston, c. 1950), 448.

[68] W. E. Burghardt DuBois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York, c. 1935), 242, 268, 317.

[69] *Ibid.,* 318.

they were gathered in their Convention halls," fighting for their rights, in New Orleans.[70]

Several studies have been made since 1933 which, while not concerned with judging Johnson's career as a whole, throw new light on specific aspects of it, and must surely be taken into account by future students. Charles Coleman's *The Election of 1868* contains a discussion of Johnson's chances of winning the Democratic nomination for the presidency. While it may not add to the Tennessean's stature as a practical politician, Coleman's contention that the incumbent sacrificed a chance for re-election by refusing to place the patronage of his office at the disposal of Democratic political leaders can only enhance his reputation for courage and integrity.[71] William A. Russ' researches during the late thirties re-emphasized the extent to which the President's troubles were due to hysteria aroused by Radical newspapers and periodicals, and especially by the Methodist press, which had taken a dim view of the reputedly hard-drinking Tennessean from the beginning, and which became violent after Lincoln's assassination.[72] Russ' position was borne out by the work of James E. Pollard, who was convinced that the partisan nature of the press at the time precluded any possibility of Johnson's establishing genial relations with it.[73] Another student of the attitude of the Northern press, Ralph Roske, found that Johnson retained the support of a surprisingly large number of influential moderate Republican papers until the end of his term.[74] Since Roske conceded that the bulk of the northern press opposed the President, his findings do not invalidate the conclusions of Russ, Pollard, and others who believed that biased reporting was a major cause of Johnson's discomfiture, but they do lend support to the view that the moderate Republicans were a potential source of strength for the administration, and that it was a political mistake not to try to cooperate with them.

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[70] James S. Allen, *Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy (1865-1876)* (New York, c. 1937), 24, 26, 41, 86.

[71] Charles H. Coleman, *The Election of 1868: The Democratic Effort to Regain Control* (Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law,* No. 392, New York, 1933), 162-64.

[72] William A. Russ, Jr., "Was There Danger of a Second Civil War During Reconstruction?" *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXV (June, 1938), 54, 58; *id.,* "The Influence of the Methodist Press Upon Radical Reconstruction (1865-68)," *Susquehanna University Studies,* I (January, 1937), 52, 54.

[73] James E. Pollard, *The Presidents and the Press* (New York, 1947), 399, 403, 429.

[74] Ralph J. Roske, "Republican Newspaper Support for the Acquittal of President Johnson," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* XI (September, 1952), 263.

In a series of articles published during the early fifties, Gregg Phifer, of the Speech Department of Florida State University, examined the campaign of 1866 with particular attention to the President's speeches and speaking techniques. Phifer's outlook toward the campaign as a whole is almost identical with that of Howard Beale. Like Beale, Phifer had a high regard for Johnson as an individual and as a statesman, but maintained that he failed to take advantage of issues which might have embarrassed the Radicals, and that he lessened his chances of success by not creating a pro-administration party complete with the necessary practical political machinery.[75] Phifer also is among those who believe that Johnson suffered heavily at the hands of a hostile press,[76] but his most valuable and original contribution lay in the thorough examination of the President's performances on the platform. These studies indicate that although Johnson's characteristic method of speaking, extemporaneous or nearly impromptu, sometimes led to blunders which could be capitalized on by the Radical press, the speeches were neither disjointed nor undignified. Instead, the Tennessean took up one idea at a time, made each point clear, and spoke with such conviction and sincerity that his talks made a profound impression on the hearer. His voice was excellent, his dress impeccable, his vocabulary adequate, and, while he made grammatical mistakes which looked bad in print, they were such as would hardly have been noticed by the audience. "Johnson," in Phifer's opinion, "looked and sounded like a President."[77]

Those writers whose attention was focused primarily on the southern aspects of reconstruction almost without exception regarded Johnson's plan as the wisest and most equitable that could have been followed. Among these may be mentioned James Welch Patton (*Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee,* 1934), Wirt Armistead Cate (*Lucius Q. C. Lamar. Secession and Reunion,* 1935), Francis P. Burns ("White Supremacy in the South" in *The Louisiana Historical*

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[75] Gregg Phifer, "Andrew Johnson Loses His Battle," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* XI (December, 1952), 327; *id.,* "Andrew Johnson Argues a Case," *ibid.,* XI (June, 1952), 157ff.

[76] *Id.,* "Andrew Johnson at Cleveland and St. Louis, 1866: A Study in Textual Authenticity," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech,* XXXVII (December, 1951), 455-62; *id,.* "Andrew Johnson Versus the Press in 1866," The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 25 (1953), 3-23.

[77] *Id.,* "Andrew Johnson Delivers His Argument," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* XI (September, 1952), 214-15, 220, 234.

Quarterly, 1935), Willie Malvin Caskey (*Secession and Restoration of Louisiana,* 1938), A. B. Moore ("One Hundred Years of Reconstruction of the South," in *The Journal of Southern History,* 1943), Robert Selph Henry (*The Story of Reconstruction,* 1938), and Thomas B. Alexander (*Political Reconstruction in Tennessee,* 1950). Cate, Burns, Moore, Alexander, and Patton, although devoting little space to a direct evaluation of his work, indicated both in passing remarks and in their general attitude toward the problems of reconstruction that they felt Johnson had the best interests of the South at heart and that his program was well conceived.[78] Caskey, a great deal more outspoken, asserted that the Southern-born Jacksonian Democrat, "a man of incorruptible character," was "better qualified in some respects than Lincoln to solve these complicated problems of reconstruction."[79] Henry was as lavish as anyone in his praise of Johnson's character and policy, but pointed out many mistakes as a political and national leader.[80]

Since they provide an unusually precise measure of the esteem with which any one of them is regarded, rankings of the holders of the nation's highest office are particularly interesting and informative. Sidney Hyman, author of *The American President,* published in 1954, although making no attempt to rate the Presidents from top to bottom in numerical order, included Johnson in a group of sixteen executives who lacked "presidential artistry." The group, which includes John Adams, John Quincy Adams, and James Madison, is not an entirely undistinguished one. As Hyman explained:

> This is not to say they were bad men nor were lacking in executive ability and intellect. But they shared one or more of five traits. Most of them failed as party leaders. Most of them compounded this failure by their inability to form a party *pro tem* that could cut across party lines and win the loyalty of millions of Americans. Most of them viewed the

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[78] Francis P. Burns, "White Supremacy in the South. The Battle for Constitutional Government in New Orleans, July 30, 1866," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* XVIII (July, 1935), 581-616; A. B. Moore, "One Hundred Years of Reconstruction of the South," *The Journal of Southern History,* IX (May, 1943), 153-80; Wirt Armistead Cate, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar: Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill, c. 1935); Thomas B. Alexander, *Political Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1950); James Welch Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill, 1934). Patton also did "Tennessee's Attitude Toward the Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson," The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 9 (1937), 65-76. The results are inconclusive. "Any reliable estimate of the numerical strength of the elements in Tennessee who respectively favored and apposed [*sic*] Johnson's policy would . . . be," the author reports, "impossible to obtain."

[79] Willie Malvin Caskey, *Secession and Restoration of Louisiana* (Louisiana State University *Studies,* No. 36 [Baton Rouge], 1938), 160.

[80] Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of Reconstruction* (Indianapolis, c. 1938).

> presidency as an office which worked with Congress and the Court in a closed legal circuit. They all failed to project an image of a presidency with an organic responsibility of its own to help create what the people wanted. And most of them failed to grasp the potential of the presidency as an institution.[81]

A survey conducted by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., for *Life* in 1948 resulted in a more exact ranking of the Presidents. Schlesinger asked fifty-five specialists in American history and government to rate chief executives up to but not including Truman, and excluding Garfield and William Henry Harrison, who held office but briefly, as "great," "near great," "average," "below average," and "failure." The consensus placed Johnson in the "average" group, numerically nineteenth among the twenty-nine Presidents considered. The six "great" Presidents as determined by this poll, the results of which were subsequently published in Schlesinger's *Paths to the Present* as well as in *Life,* were Lincoln, Washington, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Wilson, Jefferson, and Jackson.[82]

Even an "average" rating must be considered something of a vindication for a President who was impeached, but at least one student of the presidency, Clinton Rossiter, feels that Johnson deserves an even higher place. Rossiter (*The American Presidency,* 1956) selected seven "great" (Theodore Roosevelt in addition to those on the Schlesinger list) and six "strong but not quite great Presidents." These six were Polk, Johnson, Hayes, Cleveland, Truman, and Eisenhower. Andrew Johnson's fight against the Radicals, in Rossiter's judgment, marks "a high rather than a low point in the progress of the Presidency."[83]

Such a high rating, coming as it does at the end of a period dominated by the Winston-Stryker-Milton picture of Johnson—the man of honesty and courage, the defender of the underdog and the Constitution, the advocate of moderation and conciliation, the victim of Radical schemes and unkind fate—is perhaps timely. Along with this unstinted approval, however, slightly less prominent but showing signs of hardy persistence, the characteristic attitude of the first quarter of the century —that Johnson had many admirable qualities, that his policies were

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[81] Sidney Hyman, *The American President* (New York, c. 1954), 72-73.

[82] Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Paths to the Present* (New York, 1949), 95-96. Schlesinger first reported the results of the poll in "The U. S. Presidents," *Life,* XXV (Novmeber 1, 1948), 65-74.

[83] Clinton Rossiter, *The American Presidency* (New York, 1956), 79-80.

essentially correct, but that he failed in the vital sphere of leadership—has continued to claim many adherents.

Although there was little room for further detailed studies of Johnson's career, and hence a lessening of interest, the factors which had favored a sympathetic outlook before 1933 continued during the remainder of the thirties and into the forties and fifties. In an era of widespread support for social legislation the "father of Homestead" remained an appealing figure; at a time when national allegiance outweighed sectional feeling the counselor of moderation and conciliation seemed a man of courage and wisdom. As for the recurrence of the "poor leadership" idea, it seems likely, in view of the fact that the administration program was defeated, there will always be those who contend that more decisive action or greater political sagacity might have saved the day.

The most novel, for the twentieth century at least, and in some ways the most interesting opinion encountered in this section is one which was first and most vigorously proclaimed by W. E. B. DuBois. The lonely cry in the thirties that "Andrew Johnson did less than nothing" for the Negro seems less significant, however, than the recurrence of this theme in the late forties and the fifties in the work of Levin and Donald. True, few have yet adopted this interpretation, but its reappearance, after a lapse of almost three-quarters of a century, at a time of renewed interest in civil rights may be portentous.[84]

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[84] DuBois, *Black Reconstruction,* 280. Indeed, a more serious challenge to the prevailing interpretation of Johnson's role in reconstruction, though not to his character, has been published since the completion of this study. Although it is too early to evaluate its full effect on its subject's reputation, Eric L. McKitrick's *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960) is an obviously significant work, one that will have to be taken into consideration in future textbook and other general accounts. The author, taking what in many ways is a new approach, places most of the blame for the failure of presidential reconstruction on Johnson himself, through his refusal to cooperate with northern moderates and his failure to define in his own program precisely what was expected of the South. This latter deficiency, leading the South to equivocate and experiment, testing how far it could go, and finally to elect former Confederates to high office and to pass the "Black Codes," was largely responsible for turning public opinion, initially favorable, against the President. Johnson's unwillingness to lay down terms becomes the more regrettable in view of evidence that the North would have been satisfied by the imposition of modest requirements, and that the South, which at first evidently accepted its military defeat, would have complied, even if the terms had included qualified Negro suffrage. In *Andrew Johnson: President on Trial* (New York, c. 1960), published even more recently, but too early for McKitrick's indictment to be considered, Milton Lomask upholds the generally prevailing interpretation. One especially noteworthy point Lomask makes, apparently based on an unpublished master of arts thesis by Everette Swinney, "Andrew Johnson's Swing around the Circle: The Study of an Appeal to the People" (Pennsylvania State University, 1957), is that the "swing-around the circle" was much less damaging to the President's cause than has commonly been assumed. Another suggestion, not fully developed, but pertinent to Johnson's being attacked for his stand on the Negro question, is that

If the past is an indication of the future, further shifts in interpretation, large or small, in this direction or some other, are to be expected, but at the middle of the twentieth century, Andrew Johnson stands as a man worthy of the nation's highest office. Even those who speak adversely of certain aspects of his character or policy, Levin, for instance, often regard him with respect, even admiration. The sometimes fulsome praise of the preceding period has, in recent years, been softened to widespread general approval. Perhaps the more balanced judgment is the higher tribute.

Conclusions

In Giacomo Leopardi's *Dialogue Between Nature and a Soul,* the Soul, destined by Nature to be great, wonders if this will not bring vituperation and unhappiness rather than praise and honor. Nature admits that this may well be the case, but promises that "after your death . . . you will be praised and exalted to the skies," if not by all men, "at least by that small portion who are possessed of judgment and discrimination." Andrew Johnson, unlike the pessimistic Italian poet, may well have considered posthumous fame, "the phantom glory," an adequate compensation for abuse and misery while living. If so, his trials as President have been rewarded. Denounced beyond compare in his own time, Johnson, his reputation rehabilitated by successive stages, was at one point indeed "praised and exalted to the skies." If the "small portion who are possessed of judgment and discrimination" are now somewhat more restrained, they do give him an estimable place in American history.

Taken as a whole, perhaps no group is better qualified or makes a greater effort to exercise "judgment and discrimination" than the authors of college textbooks. Their work is doubly significant in that, in addition to reflecting current scholarly opinion, it is the most important means by which the educated person, but one who has not undertaken a specialized study, gains his impression of any historical figure. Almost without exception the textbook writers of recent years have expressed a high regard for Johnson's honesty, courage, dignity, and

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in the long run "the Southern Negroes might have fared better under the President than they did under their Congress."

intelligence. "As honest and sincere as Lincoln,"[85] one reports, while another remarks, "He was intelligent, able, forceful, and gifted with homespun honesty."[86] Many take pains to point out that he was not a drunkard, and that attacks on his character by contemporaries and some historians were unjustified. Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, in a typical comment, declare: "In the historical literature of the half century after the war he is represented at the best as a pugnacious ignoramus, at the worst as a drunken ruffian. Actually he had most of the civil and moral virtues. . . ."[87] The only widespread criticism directed against the Tennessean as regards his character and personality is that he was, in the words of one historian, "unbending and tactless."[88]

In almost every textbook account the impeachment is now presented as a purely political action. It was "plainly a political move," asserts Leland D. Baldwin. "Johnson's counsel had demolished the articles of impeachment, but no one expected that action to influence the Senate's decision."[89] In a similar vein, Ralph Volney Harlow declares: "It is a striking commentary on the purposes of the radicals

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[85] Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Political and Social History* (7th edn. New York, c. 1957), 462. Subsequent citations of this and other textbooks used in this section will be by the author's name only. For the second citation of works by three or more authors the form *et al.* will be used with the name of the person mentioned first in the original citation.

[86] Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant. A History of the Republic* (Boston, c. 1956), 465.

[87] Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic,* 4th edn. 2 vols. (New York, 1950), II, 34. Among those specifically denying the charge of drunkenness or refuting the unfavorable picture presented by contemporaries and many historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are Bailey, 471; Leland D. Baldwin, *The Stream of American History,* 2 vols. (New York, c. 1952), I, 893; Harry J. Carman and Harold C. Syrett, *A History of the American People,* 2 vols. (New York, 1955), II, 24n; Ralph Volney Harlow, *The United States: From Wilderness to World Power* (New York, c. 1949), 375; Henry Bamford Parkes, *The United States of America. A History* (New York, 1953), 377; Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, *A History of the American People* (New York, c. 1934), 821-22, 826.

[88] Faulkner, 462. Others who mentioned his tactlessness and stubbornness are Bailey, 465-66; Harlow, 370; Parkes, 377; Arthur Cecil Bining and Philip Shriver Klein, *A History of the United States,* 2 vols. (New York, c. 1951), II, 8-9; Oscar Theodore Barck, Walter L. Wakefield, and Hugh Talmage Lefler, *The United States. A Survey of National Development* (New York, c. 1950), 482; Merle Curti, Richard H. Shryock, Thomas C. Cochran, and Fred Harvey Harrington, *A History of American Civilization* (New York, c. 1953), 350; Wesley M. Gewehr, Donald C. Gordon, David M. Sparks, and Roland N. Stromberg, eds., *American Civilization. A History of the United States* (New York, 1957), 281; John D. Hicks, *A Short History of American Democracy* (Boston, c. 1943), 424; Homer Carey Hockett and Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *Land of the Free. A Short History of the American People* (New York, 1947), 340; Frank Lawrence Owsley, Oliver Perry Chitwood, and H. C. Nixon, *A Short History of the American People* (2nd edn. 2 vols. New York, c. 1952), II, 15; Robert E. Riegel and David F. Long, *The American Story* (2 vols. New York, 1955), I, 430.

[89] Baldwin, I, 906-07.

that they adopted the resolution to impeach before they had framed any formal charge whatever."[90]

Agreement is just as unanimous as to the wisdom of Johnson's reconstruction policy. Although many authors refrain from an explicit endorsement, they almost always identify it with Lincoln's, and apply to it such terms as "moderate," "conciliatory," "generous," or "magnanimous." Jeannette and Roy Nichols express the characteristic point of view when they proclaim: "Andrew Johnson was trying to hasten the reign of peace. He was copying Lincoln's plan. . . ."[91] The Radicals' motives and program, on the other hand, receive scant sympathy. Thomas A. Bailey merely puts it more vividly than most when he charges: "The gun-supported reconstruction of the South, begun so brutally in 1867, was clearly unconstitutional."[92] Ralph Gabriel, feeling that the Radicals imposed "an unfortunate policy," also represents the consensus outlook when he writes: "The congressional leaders abandoned magnanimity and embarked upon a course characterized by vindictiveness and hate."[93]

The most telling criticism of Johnson, more evident in textbooks than in other recent writings, is directed at his leadership. Here he is perhaps unfortunate in that few can resist the temptation to compare him with Lincoln. Holding that Lincoln might have succeeded, John B. Rae and Thomas H. D. Mahoney flatly assert that Johnson "did not have Lincoln's ability."[94] Similarly, although favoring the Lincoln-Johnson plan and admiring many aspects of the Tennessean's character, Bailey, always the master of colorful expression, proclaims: "A reconstruction policy devised by the angels might well have failed in his tactless hands."[95]

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[90] Harlow, 383.

[91] Jeannette P. and Roy F. Nichols, *The Growth of American Democracy* (New York, c. 1939), 276.

[92] Bailey, 473.

[93] Ralph H. Gabriel, *Main Currents in American History* (New York, c. 1942), 139.

[94] John B. Rae and Thomas H. D. Mahoney, *The United States in World History. From Its Beginnings to World Leadership* (New York, 1949), 345. Others who feel Lincoln might have succeeded where Johnson failed are Barck, *et al.*, 480; Curti, *et al.*, 349; Morison and Commager, II, 33-34; Parkes, 377; Max Savelle, *A Short History of American Civilization* (New York, c. 1957), 385.

[95] Bailey, 466. Since no textbook has been encountered in which an attempt is made to whitewash Johnson, it is generally conceded that he made tactical mistakes. Consequently, differences of opinion as to his leadership are differences of degree and it is difficult to draw a line between those who feel that his mistakes were a major factor in the defeat of his program and those who assign them a relatively minor role. Some of the most outspoken critics of Johnson's political and executive aptitude are Barck, *et al.*, 482; Bining and Klein, II, 8-9, 15-16; Curti, *et al.*, 350; Faulkner, 464; Hockett and Schlesinger,

Although a great many recent textbooks thus represent an essentially "wise policy-poor leadership" approach, there is a significant difference between their position and that current during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The more recent writers, even those who speak most harshly of him as a leader, invariably admit that Johnson had a difficult if not impossible task and that his mistakes were only one factor among the many which doomed the presidential program. Bailey, for example, prefaced his trenchent comment on the Tennessean's aptitude as a leader with the remark that "few Presidents have ever been faced with a more perplexing sea of troubles than that which confronted Andrew Johnson."[96] In the same way, those who contend that Lincoln might have succeeded recognize that he "would have had his hands full,"[97] and that his chances of success rested as much on his greater prestige and acceptance in the North as on any innate superiority as a leader. There are also those who doubt that Lincoln could have won. Both Baldwin, one of the writers most sympathetic toward Johnson, and Harold Faulkner, who took a dim view of his leadership, question whether any combination of tact, wisdom, and prestige could have withstood the Radical onslaught,[98] while Robert Riegel and David Long assert: "There seems little reason to doubt that Lincoln's course during the immediate postwar years might have been as hostilely received as Johnson's."[99]

Another facet of the generally sympathetic presentation Johnson has been accorded in recent textbooks, one which reflects the scholarship of the twenties and thirties, is that he has been depicted as always having at heart the interests of the common man. Johnson, who boasted of his plebeian origins, would have been gratified by such phrases as "no truer democrat ever occupied the Presidential chair,"[100] "ardent

340-42; Nichols and Nichols, 278; Rae and Mahoney, 345; Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, *The United States. The History of a Republic* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1957), 396, 398; Dumas Malone and Basil Rauch, *Empire for Liberty,* 2 vols. (New York, c. 1960), II, 6.

[96] Bailey, 465.

[97] Curti, *et al.,* 349.

[98] Baldwin, I, 900; Faulkner, 462.

[99] Riegel and Long, I, 432. Again, the textbook writers differ only in the degree of emphasis they place on Johnson's bad luck and the difficulty of his situation. Others who stress these factors most strongly are Gewehr, *et al.,* 281-82; Harlow, 380; Owsley, *et al.,* II, 33; Parkes, 377, 381; Ray Allen Billington, Bert James Loewenberg, and Samuel Hugh Brockunier, *The United States. American Democracy in World Perspective* (New York, c. 1947), 268-69; Avery Craven and Walter Johnson, *The United States. Experiment in Democracy* (Boston, c. 1950), 431.

[100] Morison and Commager, II, 34.

champion of the poor,"[101] or "more truly than Morrill the father of the Homestead Act."[102] The treatment rendered in textbooks, balanced, free from special pleading, by and large favorable, is perhaps the best measure of Andrew Johnson's reputation today.

If Johnson has suffered by the inevitable comparison with Lincoln, he has perhaps also been unfortunate in sharing the same state and a similar name with his ideal, Andrew Jackson. Tennesseans, proud of the glamorous Jackson, have sometimes seemed apologetic about his namesake, reluctant to claim the only President to be impeached. There is evidence, however, that along with the national rehabilitation of the second Andrew's reputation there has come a greater appreciation from his adopted state. On January 23, 1958, Andrew Johnson was enrolled in the Tennessee Agricultural Hall of Fame in tribute to his services to agriculture and education in both the state and the nation. At the ceremony commemorating the occasion, Buford Ellington, Commissioner of Agriculture and soon to occupy the gubernatorial chair himself, after acclaiming the former governor's work for homestead legislation, for tax supported schools, and for a state department of agriculture, declared that the Greene countian had the "patriotism of George Washington" and the "physical and moral courage of Andrew Jackson."[103] So while scholars may still point out his mistakes or call attention to flaws in his make-up (either their work would be suspect or the subject more than human if they did not), although he may always be burdened by comparison with the idolized Lincoln, even though in the popular fancy he may continue to be overshadowed by the more dashing "Old Hickory," after more than ninety years the reputation of Andrew Johnson is such that no state need be ashamed to call him her own.

The temptation is strong to speak of the current interpretation of President Johnson, generally favorable but not blindly partisan, as the culmination of a Hegelian process, to say that it is the synthesis of contemporary denunciations, the thesis, and twentieth century apologias, the antithesis. If the formula is too neat, if history refuses to conform

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[101] Stephenson, 816.

[102] Baldwin, I, 892. Also taking special notice of this aspect of Johnson's career are Bailey, 466; Billington, *et al.,* 267; Carman and Syrett, II, 21; Craven and Johnson, 428; Curti, *et al.,* 346; Faulkner, 462; Gewehr, *et al.,* 281; Harlow, 377.

[103] An account of the ceremony honoring Johnson and excerpts from Ellington's speech appeared in the *Tennessee Market Bulletin,* XXX (February, 1958), 9-12.

to the rules of system-makers, at least process itself cannot be discounted. The changes Johnson's reputation has undergone indicate that the judgment of history is hardly more static than history itself, while an analysis of these changes reveals some of the factors which affect interpretation.

The first step in the rehabilitation of President Johnson's reputation came as a result of a changed general outlook, itself stemming from diverse influences, toward the men, measures, and events of the Reconstruction era. Four recent historiographical articles, Howard Beale's "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," Louise Ilse's "Changing Interpretations of Andrew Johnson's Impeachment," Louis Ruchames' "Charles Sumner and American Historiography," and Harris Dante's "Reconstruction History: Recent Interpretations," all obviously closely related to this study, indicate the broad outlines of the pattern of looking at Reconstruction. Both Beale and Dante point out that there was a major shift in interpretation, from approbation to condemnation of the Radical course, about the turn of the century.[104] As the preceding pages have shown, it was at this time that Johnson's policy began to gain widespread approval. Ruchames, whose study indicates that Sumner's reputation has varied inversely with Johnson's, also placed the break at the beginning of the new century,[105] while Miss Ilse's work shows that the new view brought with it a reappraisal of the impeachment and the almost unanimous acceptance, after DeWitt had broken the ground in 1903, of the thesis that it had been a purely political undertaking.[106]

The new attitude toward Reconstruction marked and accounts for only the first step toward the rehabilitation of Johnson's name—the endorsement of his plan for the restoration of national unity. Thus, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, while his policy was receiving hearty approval, Johnson himself was still quite frequently denounced not only as an inept leader but also as a President whose personal shortcomings disgraced the nation's highest office. Even while James Ford Rhodes and others were writing in this vein, however, the

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[104] Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," *American Historical Review,* XLV (July, 1940), 807; Harris L. Dante, "Reconstruction History: Recent Interpretations," *Social Education,* XVIII (February, 1954), 59-62.

[105] Louis Ruchames, "Charles Sumner and American Historiography," *The Journal of Negro History,* XXXVIII (April, 1953), 144, 152.

[106] Ilse, "Changing Interpretations of Andrew Johnson's Impeachment," 256.

second step toward complete vindication was being taken by James Schouler. Although the anti-Radical outlook of the early twentieth century undoubtedly effected a disposition in Schouler, as well as in other historians, to look at Lincoln's successor with a more friendly eye, a favorable interpretation was difficult if not impossible as long as it was necessary to know him chiefly through the accounts of his political enemies. Two newly accessible sources, however, the Johnson manuscripts and Gideon Welles' *Diary*, enabled Schouler to draw a pleasing picture of the much-abused Tennessean, whom he depicted as a man of high character, strong intelligence, and attractive personality. During the next few years, although Rhodes' representation was not immediately dispelled, Schouler's was gaining ground. At this time, until the mid-twenties, even though writers might differ as widely as Rhodes and Schouler in their view of Johnson the man, there was general agreement on two points, that the President had pursued the correct policy toward the South and that he had done so in a singularly incompetent manner.

The final two steps, taken simultaneously during the late twenties and early thirties, in addition to completely clearing Johnson's name, brought added acclaim for his statesmanship. In one of the new developments, reflecting a growing emphasis on impersonal forces in history as well as increased sympathy for much that the Tennessean stood for, Johnson was largely absolved of blame for the failure to carry through his program; by the other, an outgrowth of the egalitarian outlook of the period, he came to be recognized as more than just the Reconstruction President—he was hailed as the far-seeing defender of the rights and interests of the common man. The vindication of Andrew Johnson was complete. The most prominent subsequent development has been merely the tempering of the perhaps too extravagant claims of some of the Johnson partisans.

Superficially, the treatment Andrew Johnson has received at the hands of posterity makes a gratifying story—a man with many admirable qualities, unmercifully maligned during his own lifetime, at last receiving justice in the judgment of history. Yet, to those who believe history the wisest as well as the ultimate judge, there are disturbing implications in the story, implications that are no less disturbing to those who would know the past "as it actually was." It is evident that chance plays a significant role in shaping the verdict of history. For

example, what would Andrew Johnson's current reputation have been if his secretary of the navy had not been a conscientious diarist? How long was his reputation besmirched by a single remark, based on hearsay —Lowell's reference to an "indecent orgy," seized upon by the widely read Rhodes to convey the impression of habitual drunkenness? Johnson was fortunate in that exculpating testimony was preserved and that enough interest was finally aroused to lead to a re-examination of the evidence, but there was no assurance of such a happy outcome.

Equally sobering is the knowledge that the verdict of history is not a fixed judgment based on an absolute and incontrovertible standard of worth, that it changes with the intellectual atmosphere. There is, therefore, no assurance that today's hero may not be tomorrow's villain, or, worse still for the seeker after fame, be relegated to anonymity, barred, in Dante's moral order, entrance even into Hell—that Andrew Johnson, praised for half a century for his generous policy toward the South may not be condemned tomorrow for his attitude toward the Negro. Fame is hardly more immutable or her path less tortuous than life itself. Her pursuit may well be, as Pascal claimed, "the greatest baseness of man" —although even he admitted her charm; she is perhaps as blind and vain as Leopardi charged; but, however, she herself is judged, whatever may be her course tomorrow, for a moment, at least, she has favored Andrew Johnson.

THE ELECTION AND SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR BEN W. HOOPER OF TENNESSEE AS REFLECTED IN THE STATE PRESS

By Russell L. Stockard

When Ben W. Hooper won the gubernatorial election of 1910 it marked only the second time since Reconstruction that a Republican had attained that highest state office. Democratic domination of state politics had been broken on only one occasion since the franchise was restored to ex-Confederates at the close of the Reconstruction period, and the strength of Republicanism had been confined pretty largely to the strongly pro-Unionist area of East Tennessee. Both in 1880, when Alvin W. Hawkins was elected, and in 1910 the Republican victories had been due less to the inherent strength of their party than to serious splits within the Democratic ranks. In fact, Hawkins' 1880 victory had been over a Democratic party that was so badly split over the issue of repayment of the state debt that there were two Democratic candidates in the field.

By 1910 new issues had created new political alignments within the state. The fostering of business by the Republicans, and the important reforms that had been carried out under Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft lent a degree of respectability to Republicanism that it had not previously enjoyed in the eyes of an electorate that was inclined to vote as it thought. More important, however, was the furious controversy over the issue of prohibition. Governor Malcolm R. Patterson led one faction of the Democratic party in support of local option as a medium for handling the liquor traffic. Opposed to him was another faction, headed by Edward Ward Carmack, that favored state-wide prohibition. The dispute reached its climax with the killing of Carmack in an encounter with Robin and Duncan Cooper, two of Patterson's strong supporters.

The death of Carmack added emotional fervor to the already highly charged controversy within the Democratic party over the liquor problem, and by 1910 the party was hopelessly split into two groups, one known as Independent Democrats and the other as Regular Demo-

crats, the distinction between them being largely one of prohibition versus local option. The defection of the prohibitionist Independent Democrats and their endorsement and support of Republican Ben W. Hooper resulted in his election in 1910 and contributed to the success of his first administration. Their support was also to be vital in 1912 when the Republican party sought to perpetuate its control of the state, and when Hooper sought to implement the prohibitionist enactments of his first administration.

Governor Hooper's first administration, despite the deadlock which threatened to develop at the very beginning of his term, was reasonably successful. Once his right to the office was confirmed by the assembly, the Governor was able to exert considerable influence in behalf of worth-while legislation. He was not always victorious in conflicts with the legislature; but he was able to carry his point in a majority of the cases. In the field of non-controversial legislation he cooperated with the lawmakers in writing into law a number of measures which were vital to the interest, welfare, and progress of the state. Of even greater significance, probably, was the success of his administration, although it involved an unpopular filibuster, in preventing the repeal or serious modification of the prohibition and election laws of 1909. The election law amendment, which was averted, stipulated that the majority party should be given the majority of positions on the Election Commission, rather than an equal number as provided by the law of 1909.[1]

Some time before the end of his first term Governor Hooper evinced a desire to be continued in office.[2] In view of his commendable record and his desire to succeed himself, the State Republican Convention which met in Nashville on May 14, 1912, had little to do other than endorse Hooper for another term. It proceeded unhesitatingly to give him the endorsement and displayed enthusiasm for the political battle that lay ahead.[3]

To oppose Hooper the Democrats once again chose a former governor of Tennessee, Benton McMillin. His victory in the Demo-

[1] Russell L. Stockard, "The Election And First Administration Of Ben W. Hooper As Governor Of Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 26 (1954), 55-56.

[2] *Nashville Banner,* June 2, 26, 1912.

[3] *Ibid.,* May 14, 1912; Edith Snyder Evans, "The Progressive Party in Tennessee in 1912" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1933), 38.

cratic primaries of August 1[4] was followed by nomination by the Regular Democratic Convention which met on August 15.[5] But McMillin was handicapped by the split that continued to plague the Democrats, despite the fact that members of the party hoped and pleaded for a united Democratic party so as to bring an end to the "temporary reign of Republicanism in Tennessee."[6] The influence of ex-Governor Patterson, however, continued to make itself felt and continued to keep alive the Democrats' factionalism.[7] The Independent Democrats openly pointed up this harmful influence of the ex-Governor by crediting him with the liquor platform adopted by the Democratic Convention.[8]

Approximately a month after the convention of the Regular Democrats the Independent Democrats took a step that indicated that they had no intention of cooperating with the Regulars to help elect McMillin. On the occasion of their formal convention held in the Ryman Auditorium, in Nashville, the Independent Democrats invited Hooper to speak to the delegates and interested onlookers—totaling about 2,500 persons.[9] The Governor aroused the enthusiastic audience with such words as:

> I stood two years ago upon this platform, before a convention of Independent Democrats, under circumstances that were extremely similar to those which surround us today. I have stood by Independent Democrats, hobnobbed with Independent Democrats, gone down the line with them under all conditions in the last two years, until I feel very much at home in an Independent Democrat Convention.[10]

Immediately after this speech the Independents endorsed Hooper's candidacy in which law enforcement was declared to be the paramount feature.[11]

Following the convention a period of political quiet ensued before the active campaigns. But months prior to the action of the Independent Democratic element, Newell Sanders, chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee, had completed plans for conducting Hooper's campaign.[12] Hooper opened his campaign at Knoxville, the

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[4] *Nashville Tennessean,* August 1, 1912.
[5] *Nashville Banner,* August 16, 1912.
[6] *Memphis Commercial Appeal,* August 5-12, 1912.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Nashville Tennessean,* August 27, 1912; Evans, "The Progressive Party in Tennessee," 39.
[9] *Nashville Banner,* September 25, 1912.
[10] *Ibid.,* September 26, 1912.
[11] *Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* September 26, 1912.
[12] Rufus Terral, *Newell Sanders: A Biography* (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1935), 195-213.

heart of the section that had given him cause for concern in the election of 1910. The *Knoxville Journal* commented on Hooper's initial speech in an encouraging manner. The Governor devoted a large part of his speech before some five thousand people to the questions of prison conditions and the parole and pardon policies of Patterson and McMillin. In concluding his address he attacked the prison policies of ex-Governor Patterson by stating that:

> In Tennessee until recently only two things were thought of in connection with a violation of the law; first, how to get [him] into prison, and second, how to get him out. But little attention was given to the great immediate question of how to treat the prisoner during the incarceration, so as to make a better man and citizen after his release.[13]

Although in his Knoxville speech Hooper made no reference to other questions, the issues of the campaign of 1912 were identical to those of 1910: state-wide prohibition and its enforcement and the election laws of 1909. These issues he discussed at one time or another as he traveled over the state.

After his Knoxville appearance, Governor Hooper spoke at various points in East Tennessee, including Bristol, Elizabethton, Johnson City, and Maryville.[14] Confident that the people of Tennessee would give him a larger majority than in the previous election, Hooper carried his campaign into Middle Tennessee. He stopped first at Springfield and received a warm reception.[15] Governor Hooper was deeply impressed by his Robertson County welcome. Concerning this he remarked that:

> I will smile in my sleep tonight when I think of that great enthusiastic audience. It was the most remarkable political meeting I have seen in years. It looks like things have broken loose in Middle and West Tennessee, and that my majority in November will be three times what it was two years ago.[16]

From Springfield Hooper turned to the northwest section of Tennessee. In the cities of Martin, Union City, Trenton, Dyersburg, and Ripley, he sought to develop the points that the Democratic candidate was only a "tool of Patterson," and that a return to Pattersonism was only a "return to lawlessness."[17] The reception that was given the Republican candidate in the latter cities was repetitious of his campaign in 1910.[18]

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[13] *Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* September 26, 1912.
[14] *Ibid.,* September 27-29, 1912.
[15] *Nashville Banner,* October 1, 1912.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.,* October 1-4, 1912.
[18] *Ibid.*

The climax of Hooper's campaign in West Tennessee came on October 8 at Memphis, the stronghold of his staunch foes, Pattersonism and the liquor forces. Before an audience of approximately 2,500, Hooper rose to the occasion with a "magnificent attack upon the whisky element." In waving this attack he said, among other things, "I promise you this—that when I am elected governor of Tennessee again, I will, with the help of an honest legislature and a good God, clean out every saloon and low down dive in Memphis."[19]

While many complimented Hooper for his Memphis attack,[20] some seized upon the opportunity to deride the Governor. The *Commercial Appeal,* a Democratic organ widely read since its establishment in 1840, declared:

> For an hour and a half the governor had talked about everything but liquor and prohibition. He had rehearsed and rehearsed his prison reforms until he exhausted himself on the subject. He potshotted Governor Benton McMillin and bombarded Governor Patterson until his supporters yelled in glee and shouted for sheer joy of the thing.[21]

Incidentally, the Democratic nominee McMillin was in Memphis on the same night that Hooper spoke there. He refused to make a direct statement concerning his reaction to the reception given Hooper, but he volunteered to make the following prediction:

> I have spoken to the people of thirty-five counties and in the three weeks I have been in the campaign, I have found every reason to feel encouraged. I am not speaking as one who has never been in the thick of the fight, for I have been there elected before, and if this is not a Democratic year I am no judge.[22]

From Memphis Hooper moved toward Nashville, making speeches at Bolivar, Lexington, and Huntingdon. At these points large audiences listened attentively to his pledges of good government and prohibition.[23] At Nashville, on October 14, the Governor addressed another record-breaking audience at the Ryman Auditorium.[24] The large enthusiastic crowd began cheering from Hooper's appearance and continued to do so during his entire speech.[25] The Governor first spoke briefly of his administration and then plunged into two of the principal campaign issues—temperance and reform of election laws. The crowd

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[19] *Memphis Scimitar,* October 9, 1912.
[20] *Nashville Banner,* October 9, 1912.
[21] *Commercial Appeal,* October 9-10, 1912.
[22] *Ibid.,* October 9, 1912.
[23] *Ibid.,* October 10-13, 1912.
[24] *Nashville Banner,* October 15, 1912.
[25] *Ibid.*

cheered the Governor as he referred to the existing machine in Nashville.[26] Hooper explained that his attitude had not changed toward this machine and its backers; and he vowed that with the people's help in November, this state-wide machine would be out of business.[27] His speech was concluded by an expression of confidence in the outcome of the November election. He urged that the best elements stick together. If this were done, he said, there would be grounds for few, if any, doubts that the victory of 1910 would be repeated.[28]

After his Nashville appearance Governor Hooper continued his campaign in Middle Tennessee, delivering addresses in Cookeville, Livingston, Gainesboro, Murfreesboro, and Shelbyville. The receptions which he received in each of the above cities were viewed by him and his supporters as indicative of a "sizable majority for him in the forthcoming election."[29]

At this point of the campaign, misfortune which might have influenced the election outcome struck Hooper's Democratic opponent. This was the death of Benton McMillin's son on October 26.[30] Upon receiving this news ex-Governor McMillin announced the end of his campaign.[31] Hooper expressed his deepest sympathy in the form of a condolence message. However, he continued his campaign.[32]

In the last days of the battle for re-election, Hooper returned to the Republican stronghold of East Tennessee.[33] His style of canvassing this section was imposing. A train referred to as "Hooper's Special" carried the Governor and his campaign party, headed by E. B. Stahlman, from Knoxville to Newport. Between the Governor's departure from Knoxville and arrival at Newport he spoke in New Market, Strawberry Plains, Jefferson City, Morristown, Rogersville, Bulls Gap, Erwin, Rutledge, Jonesboro, Corryton, Sevierville, Greeneville, and Bluff City.[34] In his closing speech at Newport, Hooper said, among other things:

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[26] *Ibid.*, October 16, 1912.
[27] Governor Hooper was undoubtedly referring to the passage of the Nashville Charter Bill.
[28] *Nashville Banner,* October 16, 1912.
[29] *Ibid.*, October 17-24, 1912.
[30] *Nashville Tennessean,* October 26, 1912.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*, October 27, 1912.
[33] *Chattanooga Times,* October 30, 1912.
[34] *Ibid.*, November 1-3; *Nashville Tennessean,* October 31, November 4, 1912.

> My administration has been a business one. We have cleared up the prison system, introduced modern humanitarian methods, and at the same time, far excelled the financial records of McMillin and Patterson. The same is true of the agriculture departments under the control of my administration, all of which have been handled in such a manner as to increase receipts and diminish expenditures.
>
> Along all lines of material development and moral reform, I stand for the progressive elements in Tennessee who are out on the firing lines fighting for a better and greater state.
>
> My last word to my friends is to remember that our opposition is led by skillful and unscrupulous politicians armed with a corruption fund raised in and out of the state and it therefore behooves us to fight at the polls until every vote is cast and counted; we are going to win and finish the work we have had underway about four years.[35]

Election day was November 6, 1912,[36] and early returns indicated that a close race was in progress with Hooper carrying the eastern section of the state by an overwhelming majority, and McMillin holding small leads in the other two grand divisions.[37] By the morning of November 7 it was evident that Hooper would win.[38] The final tabulation of votes showed that the Governor had been re-elected by a smaller margin than in 1910, specifically, by a majority of 8,000 votes.[39]

The *Commercial Appeal* attributed Hooper's victory to gains made in Middle Tennessee, particularly in the counties of Bedford, Giles, Lincoln, Hickman, Jackson, Maury, Rutherford, Sumner, Wayne, and Williamson. It further pointed out that Hooper had carried fifty-three of the ninety-six counties.[40]

Victory was undoubtedly agreeable; yet news that the Regular Democrats had won control of both houses was a matter of great concern to the Governor. The latter development left little room for Hooper to hope for much from the general assembly in 1913, unless a fusion could be effected.[41]

When the 58th General Assembly convened on January 6, 1913, it appeared that a fusion of Independent Democrats and Republicans would be strong enough to control both houses of the legislature,[42] but later developments proved that this was not the case. The support of the Regular Democrats from Shelby County made it possible to elect

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[35] *Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* November 4, 1912.
[36] *Commercial Appeal,* November 6, 1912.
[37] *Ibid.,* November 7, 1912.
[38] *Nashville Banner,* November 7, 1912.
[39] MS Election Returns, 1912 (Secretary of State's Office, Nashville, Tennessee).
[40] *Commercial Appeal,* November 9, 1912.
[41] *Nashville Banner,* November 10-12, 1912.
[42] *Ibid.,* January 6, 1913.

Newton White, an Independent Democrat, as speaker of the senate and William Stanton of Shelby County as speaker of the house.[43] A Democratic newspaper, the *South Pittsburg Hustler,* hailed the Independent victory as a good thing for the Democratic party. It indicated, said the *Hustler,* that old leaders like Patterson, John I. Cox, and Frank Dibrell were passing and with their departure the break within the Democratic party would be closed.[44]

Ten days after the assembly had convened, January 16, Governor Hooper delivered his first message to the body.[45] For the most part the points of emphasis in this message were not new. He had discussed most of them either in his previous messages or in his campaign for re-election. He specifically recommended that the legislature enact compulsory primary laws, create a state auditing department, pass a corrupt practice act, provide for workmen's compensation, establish a board of health, make education compulsory, provide for public roads, establish a state reformatory, increase Confederate pension payments, adopt a law covering state bank inspections, and set up a board of examiners for nurses.[46] In addition to requesting action on these measures the Governor devoted a large part of his message to the question of providing laws for more adequate inspection of shops and factories of the state. To cope with this problem he recommended that a provision be made for the appointment of a female inspector, and that the expense fund of the office be substantially increased.[47] In making this request Hooper was not only keeping a campaign promise but was acting in conformity with the developments then taking place in several of the more progressive states of the Union.[48]

The response of the legislature to Hooper's message could be determined only after weeks of deliberation had passed. But the *Nashville Banner* was quick to give its unqualified approval to the Governor's action. This influential paper declared:

> The message from Governor Hooper sent into the legislature showed him to be thoroughly progressive in all that the best meaning

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[43] *Nashville Tennessean,* January 6-10, 1913.
[44] *The South Pittsburg Hustler,* reprinted in *Nashville Banner,* January 6, 1913.
[45] *Nashville Tennessean,* January 16, 1913.
[46] Messages of Governor Ben W. Hooper (January 16, 1913) Governor's Papers (Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville).
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Ibid.; Chattanooga Times,* January 20-27, 1913.
[49] *Nashville Banner,* January 18, 1913.

of the term implies, and very wide awake to the state's practical welfare concerning such matters as it behooves the people of all parties to consider.[49]

On January 27, 1913, Governor Hooper took the oath of office before a large audience assembled in Ryman Auditorium. In his inaugural address he praised the progress that had already been made in state government. Still, he continued, there was much to be done, and the responsibility for doing it largely rested upon the legislature. He closed his address with an appeal to the legislature to assist him by enacting laws in line with earlier recommendations.[50]

Any hope for cooperation that the Governor might have had was soon dashed. Sometime prior to the opening of the regular session it was reported that Hooper and Mayor Edward Crump, of Memphis, had made an agreement that promised benefits to each.[51] According to these reports, the Governor promised to refrain from urging the passage of stringent anti-liquor laws which would molest all parts of the state in general and Memphis in particular. In return Crump pledged the Shelby County legislative delegation to vote with the Fusionists.[52] Whether the so-called deal was an actuality is difficult to prove. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the Regular Democrats from Shelby County joined the Independent Democrats and Republicans at the opening session of the 58th General Assembly to elect an Independent Democrat to the senate speakership.[53]

In addition, this three-way coalition succeeded in passing a law establishing the office of state auditor.[54] Finally, the combination held together to elect Independent Democrats to offices of state treasurer, secretary of state, and comptroller.[55] Shortly after these actions were accomplished the Shelby County assemblymen pulled away from the Independents and Republicans, and joined the other Regulars to give them the majority control in the two houses of the assembly.[56]

The reasons for the desertion of the coalition by the Shelby County members were not difficult to discover. Briefly stated, it came as a result of Governor Hooper's decision to seek a more stringent temper-

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[50] *Ibid.*, January 28, 1913.
[51] *Nashville Tennesean,* March 12, 1913.
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] *Ibid.*, January 6-10, February 1, 1913.
[54] *Nashville Banner,* February 1-4, 1913.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] *Ibid.*

ance law in order to curb the liquor evil in the state. When Mayor Crump learned of this decision he vigorously condemned it and called it a clear breach of the agreement between the Governor and himself.[57] In defense of his decision to curb the liquor nuisance, Hooper denied ever agreeing to abandon law enforcement legislation in exchange for the support of any legislative group. He challenged the Mayor to produce one reputable witness who could give direct evidence to support his allegation.[58]

Mayor Crump did not produce the direct evidence or the reputable witness requested by Governor Hooper, and the latter was defended by more tangible evidence. On June 21, twenty-five Independent Democrats of the 58th General Assembly signed a petition in defense of Governor Hooper.[59] In part it read as follows:

> The undersigned Independent Democratic members of the 58th General Assembly, in order to correct numerous misstatements in the press, hereby make the following statements:
>
> A great deal has been said about an alleged agreement between the Independents and Republicans on the one hand and the Shelby delegation on the other relative to law enforcement legislation. It has been frequently stated that we breached some sort of an agreement on this subject with the Shelby delegation or with Crump, which is the same thing.
>
> We desire to state most positively that no agreement was ever made by us in caucus or out of caucus, individually or collectively, with the Shelby delegation or anybody else in regard to temperance or law enforcement. The agreement alleged to have been made between Mayor Crump and certain independents and republican leaders was never submitted to us nor were we consulted about it . . . .
>
> We want to say further that Governor Hooper's position as to these questions from the first day of the legislative session was not concealed from us. Publicly and with many of us privately he continued to advocate law enforcement legislation without evasion, subterfuge or concealment.[60]

Following the disclosure of the alleged "deal," Hooper came in for some harsh criticism from powerful members of the press. The *Nashville Tennessean* attacked him for his failure to retain the majority which had resulted from the formation of a triple alliance of Indepen-

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[57] *Commercial Appeal,* March 13, 1913.

[58] *Nashville Banner,* March 14, 1913. There is in the Hooper Papers (University of Tennessee Library) a copy of the agreement with Crump on which the statement that the liquor laws were "to remain unchanged upon the statute books" is crossed out and replaced by the phrase, "not to be repealed." In his autobiography (also in University of Tennessee Library), p. 176n, Hooper wrote: "I was subsequently advised that the memorandum including my interpolation had been accepted." [Editor.]

[59] *Nashville Tennessean,* June 22, 1913.

[60] *Ibid.*

dent Democrats, Republicans, and Shelby County Regular Democrats. Only in this way, the paper continued, could Hooper hope to enact useful legislation.[61] The *Commercial Appeal* viewed the matter in a similar light and declared that:

> By receding from his position of vantage and insisting on the passage of his force bills Governor Hooper drove the Shelby County delegation from his support, destroyed his power of control and made it possible for many things that had been done by the triple alliance to be undone. This sudden unaccountable determination on his part to drive this wedge into and destroy the triple alliance was an act of bad faith. It was unwise. It was suicidal from the standpoint of one interested in these laws.[62]

With the loss of the support from Shelby County the Fusionists lost command of the two houses of the legislature. At the same time Hooper lost the means by which he could control a majority of the legislature. Thenceforward Regular Democrats charted the course of legislative action.[63] Naturally, conflict with the Governor ensued. The first encounter developed on March 22, 1913, when the Regulars passed a bill amending the Election Law. The amendment proposed to assign places on the State Election Commission to members of the Regular Democrats and Republicans, thereby eliminating Independent Democrats. It also would have authorized the Democratic members of the Commission to name all members of the county election commissions.[64] When the bill reached Hooper he vetoed it and returned it along with a message expressing his objections to the bill. He said in part:

> The present election law, enacted by the legislature of 1909 provides for a state board of election commissioners composed of three members, two from the majority party and one from the minority party. Each member is empowered to appoint one member of each county election commission . . . the present system provides for genuine representation of both majority and minority . . . .
> That this system has given the people of Tennessee the fairest and cleanest elections the state has ever had cannot be and never has been successfully controverted. It was the purpose of this law and the intention of the honest men who enacted it to put an end to the election thievery in this state . . . .
> The present bill provides for a state board of three democrats and two republicans, but the three democrats were given the absolute right to name the republican members of the county commission . . . .[65]

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[61] *Ibid.*, March 11-22, 1913.

[62] *Commercial Appeal,* March 15, 1913.

[63] *Memphis Scimitar,* March 15-18, 1913; *Nashville Tennessean,* March 20-25, 1913.

[64] *Nashville Banner,* March 23, 1913.

[65] *Ibid.*, April 12-14, 1913.

When the vetoed bill come back to the assembly, twenty-six Fusionists resolved to employ a tactic with a view of preventing its passage over the veto; that is, they chose to withdraw from the session.[66] On April 14 their withdrawal occurred, and at one time or another some of the absentee legislators were known to be in Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida.[67] In spite of extensive criticism they continued to remain away from the session, and thereby prevented the assembling of a quorum. Attempts of members in attendance to pass the amendment without a quorum proved futile because of constitutional provisions.[68]

The boycott continued until the twenty-six returned in response to an appeal made to them by the Governor who advised them of the absolute necessity of passing the appropriation bill before July 1. Over a period of three days, June 19 to June 21, the legislature was able to obtain a quorum. During this time the appropriation bill was considered, passed, and dispatched to the governor.[69] After June 21 it was impossible for the legislature to function, because all Fusionist members again withdrew.[70] As a result, both houses were left without a quorum. This situation persisted until August 23 when enough of the recalcitrant members returned to vote on adjournment.

It was evident to all that the general assembly had utterly failed to perform its functions during its regular session. It was understandable, then, why it was necessary for the lawmakers to assemble in a special session as soon as possible. In line with this idea, Governor Hooper, on August 29, 1913, called a special session to meet on September 8.[71] The chief executive wanted the legislature to enact laws governing law enforcement, back taxes, and appropriation bills.

Ex-Governor Malcolm R. Patterson, surprisingly, came to the aid of the law enforcement camp by "passing the word around to his friends to support law enforcement bills in the legislature."[72] The West Tennessean had undergone a series of "unfortunate experieices."

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[66] *Memphis Scimitar,* March 15-18, 1913; *Nashville Tennessean,* March 20-25, 1913.
[67] *Ibid.; Nashville Banner,* April 16-18, 1913.
[68] Tennessee Constitution (1870), Art. 2, sec. 18.
[69] *Nashville Banner,* June 19, 1913.
[70] *Ibid.,* June 22, 1913.
[71] Tennessee General Assembly, *Senate Journal,* 1913, 58th General Assembly, 1 Sess., 1099.
[72] Carmen Hamilton Priest, "A History of Temperance in Tennessee, 1910-1918," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1937), 75-79.

The most damaging, no doubt, involved his son in a "shooting affair" in the state of Washington, with young Patterson being paroled to the custody of his father. Upon their return to Tennessee the son was placed in an asylum for the insane, allegedly because of "dipsomania induced by drinking continuously for five years." It was suspected that this was responsible for a "new and dry Patterson,"[73] although it was rumored that the ex-Governor's aspirations for a United States senatorship were also involved.

Despite the efforts and influence of ex-Governor Patterson the special session, which convened on September 8, ended with absolutely nothing being accomplished.[74] Consequently, on September 30, Governor Hooper called another special session to meet on October 13.[75] Only law enforcement and certain amendments to the refunding law were included in the call. The Governor said that the approaching special session would allow the legislators an opportunity "to restore the majesty of the law in the cities of Tennessee, or face the rising tide of public indignation."

The second special session of the general assembly lasted only five days. On the third day, October 16, three law enforcement measures were passed: an anti-shipment or "Jug Bill,"[76] to regulate shipments of intoxicating liquors into the state or between points within the state; the "Nuisance Bill,"[77] the purpose of which was to define and more effectually provide for the abatement of certain public nuisances; and "an Act to prohibit the conveying or shipping of whiskey, wine, ale, beer, and all other intoxicants from one county to another county in this state, and give jurisdiction to the courts of the county to which shipment is made to try violations of this act, and fix punishments for violations of the same."[78]

A fair estimate of the Governor's accomplishments in the first year of his second term appears easy to make. Doubtless, Hooper was hopeful of obtaining much of the legislation relating to subjects he had discussed in his campaign and had recommended to the general assembly in the regular and special sessions. However, events made this

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[73] *Ibid.*
[74] *Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* September 23, 1913.
[75] *Ibid.,* September 30, 1913.
[76] *Acts of Tennessee,* 1913, Chapter I, 659.
[77] *Ibid.,* Chapter II, 665.
[78] *Ibid.,* Chapter III, 669.

utterly impossible until near the end of the year. First, the rebellion of the Shelby County members destroyed the majority which was expected to be sympathetic toward the Governor. It also paved the way for the creation of a majority definitely unfriendly toward the chief executive. Next, the prolonged inaction of the assembly due to the Fusionist boycott destroyed any chance of legislation being enacted, either the progressive measures proposed by the Governor or the opposition's program. Finally, the first special session showed no disposition to write the laws which the Governor wanted. Of necessity then, virtually all of Hooper's legislative success must be associated with the second extra session when the legislation sought by Hooper was swiftly enacted.

By the early part of his second term the differences that had once caused concern, dispute, and divisions within the Democratic party had begun to subside. Throughout the state faithfuls of the party were becoming more conscious of the underlying causes of party failures. Both Regulars and Independents were realizing that Hooper's success in two elections had been the product of Democratic wrangling.[79] The move toward Democratic unity and harmony was interpreted by the Republicans to mean that the election of Hooper for a third term would be extremely difficult if at all possible. Yet, the party leaders went ahead with plans for the political war. The State Republican Convention met on April 15, 1914, at the Ryman Auditorium in Nashville[80] and was officially opened by James S. Beasley, chairman of the State Executive Committee, a prominent Knoxvillian.[81] In his keynote address he made it clear that a party slogan for the campaign was not necessary in the present instance, insisting instead that "our slogan is our candidate."[82] T. Asbury Wright of Rockwood was elected to the position of permanent chairman by an overwhelming majority.[83] Immediately after Wright assumed his position the regular committees were appointed. This task generally required considerable time but the harmony that marked this meeting made it possible for committees to be named with great speed.

With these preliminaries completed the Convention proceeded to

[79] Terral, *Newell Sanders,* 169-201.
[80] *Nashville Banner,* April 15, 1914.
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid.*

its main task, the nomination of the candidate for governor.[84] James A. Fowler arose and placed Hooper's name in nomination:

> I know of no greater honor which can befall any man, than that he served two terms as Governor of his state, and then be the choice of his party for another term. This choice is based upon sound reasons, some of which I will mention. In the first place Tennessee has vast material to be conserved, about which no political disputes have arisen; and the welfare of the state in this respect depends in a great measure upon the character and ability of its Governor, and his attitude toward such interests. Therefore, the Governor should be a man whose personal life and character are above reproach; one who possesses business ability and integrity in official life, transacting the state's business with the same care and honesty he displays in looking after his own private affairs . . . .
>
> When a leader has shown his capacity to cope successfully with a difficult situation, his services should not be dispensed with, as long as any part of the present situation remains.

The delegates shouted their approval of Fowler's remarks. It was so evident that Hooper was the unanimous choice of the body[85] that no other candidate received any consideration for the post. Fowler closed with the statement that, with the full support of the Republican party, he nominated "the present and next Governor of Tennessee, Ben W. Hooper."[86]

The Governor was in the audience when his nomination received this ringing approval. Upon invitation from Chairman Wright, he was escorted to the platform in order to give his acceptance speech. His was truly a fighting speech, in which he reflected much on his recent conflict and indicated his determination to overcome the evil forces that opposed him. In part, he declared:

> . . . two years ago I felt that it was not improper for me to announce my candidacy for re-election and to actively seek the endorsement of the Republicans and Independent Conventions.
>
> In the present instance the question has appeared in a somewhat different light. It has seemed clear to me that the two elements of people who have heretofore made my calling and election sure should have unfettered freedom in the selection of a candidate. I have therefore held myself in readiness to stop cheerfully in favor of such a man as our people might consider more available for the continuation of the policies and principles for which we stand in the government of our state.
>
> After all, individuals amount to little. The program and triumph of principles is the only matter of prime importance. Men work and struggle and die, but the principles of good government for which the

[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*

> people of Tennessee have been contending will never perish from the earth . . . . We have grappled with the hideous monster of nullification, and we are now engaged in a supreme struggle to rescue from beneath his unhallowed feet the bruised and mangled majesty of the law . . . . Two years ago candidates fought in the open . . . . Today they fight from ambush. Two years ago they advanced under the red and yellow rag of blood and corruption. Today they are cringing and crawling under a white flag of truce, with a dagger in one hand and a filthy lucre of bribery in the other. When I become your leader for the third time, I will continue my fight to free Tennessee of the monster that has taken its toll throughout the state in terms of law enforcement and good government.[87]

Cheers, handshakes, and yells lasting for upwards of thirty minutes followed Hooper's remarks.[88] When order was finally restored the Chairman called for the reading of the platform of 1912. It included planks calling for (1) creation of a compulsory school law; (2) an increase in public school funds; (3) establishment of a state banking department; (4) establishment of a parole system; (5) creation of a department of shop and factory inspectors; (6) improvement of state-wide roads; (7) establishment of an anti-pass law; (8) improvement of the election laws; (9) development of the state's mining department; (10) further improvement of public education; (11) development of the state's agricultural department; (12) development of a state board of health; (13) passage of anti-saloon laws; and (14) a reduction in adult illiteracy.[89]

To oppose Hooper in the race for governor the Democratic Convention nominated Judge Tom C. Rye of Paris, Tennessee.[90] Rye had previously defeated two opponents in the Democratic primaries of June 17.[91] His selection by the subsequent State Convention on August 16 was a mere formality.[92] The Democrats adopted a platform very similar to the Republicans' with the exception that a plank favoring prohibition was included. This item was designed to appeal to the anti-liquor interests throughout the state.[93] In addition, its inclusion had the effect of healing the breach which had plagued the Democratic party since 1908. Luke Lea, former Independent Democrat who had won prominence on account of his fight for the enforcement of the

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[87] *Ibid.*
[88] *Ibid.*, April 16, 1904.
[89] *Nashville Tennessean*, April 16, 1914.
[90] *Ibid.*, August 16, 1914.
[91] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1914.
[92] *Ibid.*, August 16, 1914.
[93] Priest, "History of Temperance in Tennessee, 1910-1918," Chapters 1-7.

liquor laws, was perhaps the most influential leader in the campaign to unite Independent Democrats with the Regulars.[94] He had organized a newspaper in 1906 for the expressed purpose of educating the people of Tennessee on the prohibition question. Although Democratic, this powerful newspaper, The *Nashville Tennessean,* had supported Hooper intermittently from 1910 to 1914. Now that Lea was seeking to unite the Democratic party his newspaper was used to promote the Regular Democratic nominee. It was reported that Lea broke with Hooper over the "Crump Deal" in 1913.

The gubernatorial campaign of 1914 opened in August but did not reach full swing until the middle of September. Probably because of the pressure of his official duties, Governor Hooper was unable to begin his official campaign until September 22 when he opened his fight for the governorship at Centerville, Tennessee.[95] Hooper charged his opponent with insincerity. Specifically, he declared that Rye had been guilty of duplicity in the enforcement of the liquor laws, in that, while he was judge he permitted the case of a bootlegger, arrested while selling his product in the basement of the courthouse, to be postponed until after the November election. In effect, Hooper implied that Rye either did not wish to offend the liquor interest for fear it would hurt his chances of being elected or else that he actually did not favor the liquor law.[96]

From Centerville, Hooper journeyed to Dresden, Lexington, Henderson, and Jackson. All of these cities staged elaborate demonstrations in their attempt to show their approval of the gubernatorial nominee.[97] On his swing back from West Tennessee, Hooper spoke in Springfield and Clarksville.[98] In the latter city he sought to refute charges made against his administration by Rye. He told his listeners that:

> . . . we are standing four square to every wind that blows and we are looking the people of the state level in the eye. We invited the closest scrutiny of everything we have done. Political foes have turned the blazing light of publicity upon my administration as it was never turned upon any other Governor and I am thankful that such abiding faith in the common sense and fairness of the masses of Tennesseans

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[94] Terral, *Newell Sanders,* 167-171.
[95] *Nashville Banner,* September 22, 1914.
[96] *Ibid.,* September 25, 1914.
[97] *Ibid.,* September 23-26, 1914.
[98] *Nashville Tennessean,* September 29-30, 1914.

who will not be guided by the false and distorted reports appearing in dishonest papers.[99]

After an abbreviated campaign in Middle Tennessee, Hooper staged an intensive speaking tour in the Democratic stronghold of West Tennessee. This carried him to Paris, Huntington, Covington, Ripley, Dyersburg, Bolivar, Trenton, Union City, and Humboldt.[100] Reaction to his efforts, however, was not very favorable. The crowds that heard him were smaller than usual and even his supporters seemed to possess little enthusiasm. The *Tennessean* commented on these developments by observing that the people were showing their disapproval of a man who had failed them.[101]

It is significant that while Hooper was in West Tennessee he failed to speak in the city of Memphis. Doubtless, the main reason for this was that the Republican candidate did not expect enough votes in that city to justify his efforts. He preferred to expend his energy in areas where his chances of winning votes seemed more favorable. With this in mind, Hooper, around the middle of October, carried his fight for re-election into Middle Tennessee. He spoke at Manchester, Sparta, McMinnville, Carthage, Lebanon, and Columbia.[102] In the course of his remarks at Manchester, he criticized his opponent for engaging in questionable electioneering tactics.[103] He made special reference to a statement reputedly made by Rye in which the latter had attacked the Governor's moral character. To more forcefully criticize, Rye made reference to statements concerning Hooper in *Martindale's Directory.*[104]

After a rather strenuous speaking tour, Governor Hooper brought his campaign to the capital city on October 17.[105] He delivered a major address at the Ryman Auditorium, and a cheering, appreciative audience of 6,000 or more persons heard the Republican reiterate his intention to persist in his effort to rid the state of lawlessness. The *Banner* described the entire speech as "an unanswerable argument," and declared the "Republican's discussion of the subject of law

[99] *Commercial Appeal,* September 30, 1914.

[100] *Memphis Scimitar,* October 10-14, 1914.

[101] *Nashville Tennessean,* October 10, 1914.

[102] *Nashville Banner,* October 15, 1914.

[103] *Ibid.,* October 16, 1914.

[104] *Ibid. Martindale's Directory* was regarded as the lawyers' *Who's Who* in Tennessee. Rye spoke disparagingly of the laudatory comments about Hooper's qualifications as they appeared in the *Directory.*

[105] *Nashville Tennessean,* October 18, 1914.

enforcement issue was eloquent, forceful and appealing."[106] The *Chattanooga Times,* viewing the Nashville speech in quite a different light, charged Hooper with making an all out attempt to give the people another two years of conflict and confusion.[107]

From Nashville, Hooper moved into Gallatin, Murfreesboro, Shelbyville, Livingston, Cookeville, and Chattanooga.[108] In an address in the Lookout Mountain city he made a special bid for the working class vote by stressing the workmen's compensation feature of his platform.[109] The Governor then brought his campaign for a third term to a climax at Knoxville on October 30. The *Knoxville Journal* described the address as one of the greatest speeches the Governor had ever made. Hooper declared in part:

> I am worn and weary after six weeks of campaigning, and have asked myself these questions: What is the motive in wearing myself to a frizzle? Is my motive purely a selfish one? Is my motive out of personal ambition? But I have felt all along that ever since you people went up to the foot of the Smoky Mountains and picked me out of a little cove and made me your Governor, that I was just an atom on the ocean of a great public sentiment to be washed along by the waves and to carry out those great principles that the Fusionists have fought [for] in Tennessee.[110]

In the closing days of the campaign the Republican candidate visited Sevierville, Maryville, Madisonville, Englewood, and Etowah. He then returned to Knoxville to await the verdict of the voters. State newspapers speculated about the outcome of the election. The *Memphis Scimitar* predicted that Memphis would give Rye a 20,000 majority.[111] The *Banner* lashed back with a statement in an editorial that Rye was looking to the slums for his real strength, while Hooper was depending on the verdict of the honest voters.[112] The *Commercial Appeal,* on the other hand, expressed confidence that the people of a Democratic state would elect a Democrat.[113]

Voting took place on November 4. Judge Rye took an early lead in the state as a whole and never relinquished it. In East Tennessee the Democrats polled an unexpectedly heavy vote,[114] reducing Hooper's

[106] *Nashville Banner,* October 18, 1914.
[107] *Chattanooga Times,* October 18, 1914.
[108] *Nashville Tennessean,* October 17-24, 1914.
[109] *Chattanooga Times,* October 28, 1914.
[110] *Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* October 30, 1914.
[111] *Memphis Scimitar,* October 29, 1914.
[112] *Nashville Banner,* November 1, 1914.
[113] *Commercial Appeal,* November 1, 1914.
[114] *Nashville Banner,* November 4, 1914.

majority in this section considerably.[115] Rye won a slight majority in Middle Tennessee, while in West Tennessee, as a result of the Memphis vote, his lead was of landslide proportions, 12,685 to 1,278.[116]

The explanation of Hooper's defeat in the race for a third term is a matter of debate. The Governor himself attributed his failure to: the over-confidence of his supporters; the ballot theft and strong arm tactics of the Democrats, especially in Memphis and Nashville; the equivocal Democratic plank on the liquor question which attracted many prohibitionists; and the use of a gigantic corruption fund by the Democrats.[117] It obviously would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove that these conditions actually existed. But there were other factors which conditioned the election results. In the first place, it was a fact that Fusionism, which had made possible two Hooper victories, had virtually spent itself by 1914. The inability of the Governor to hold together the Independent Democrats and Republicans, and thereby create a majority support in the 58th General Assembly, is proof that the alliance was greatly weakened if not entirely severed. The statements of 1913 showed that the Independents preferred to return to their Democratic affiliations. In the second place, Hooper's inability to obtain necessary support for his program in the regular session of the general assembly in 1913 undoubtedly convinced many that only through control of the executive and the legislature by the same party could positive action be achieved. Since a Republican triumph in both branches of government was out of the question, the election of a Democratic governor and legislature was the only means of restoring a measure of cooperation and avoiding obstructionism on the part of the executive or the legislature. Furthermore, by 1914, Pattersonism was hardly an issue any longer. For example, the platform of the Democratic party in 1914 was very similar to that of the Republican party. The planks on law enforcement and the curb of the liquor evil are cases in point. What was of great influence was the fact that new men, free of control by Patterson or his colleagues, were in the forefront of the Democratic party. Lastly, it was significant that in 1914 Democrats all over the nation were united under the banner of

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[115] *Ibid.*, November 5, 1914.

[116] MS Election Returns, 1914; *Commercial Appeal,* November 6, 1914.

[117] *Knoxville Journal and Tribune,* November 5-15, 1914.

Woodrow Wilson. It was quite different with the Republicans, now that their own party was split into two factions.[118]

Certainly, the dynamic program of the "New Freedom" as announced by Woodrow Wilson had an effect on Democracy in Tennessee. Insofar as the platform of the Democrats in Tennessee was concerned, if it was not as dynamic as the one on the national scene, the voters were unaware of it. Moreover, if the new leaders in Tennessee were not motivated by the idealism of the national party, the voters of the state were oblivious to it. Whatever other factors may have conditioned the election of 1914 in Tennessee, it is clear that a majority of the citizens had given a clear mandate to the Democratic governor and Democratic legislature.

Hooper's defeat in 1914, like his victories in 1910 and 1912, was directly related to the degree of unity within the Democratic party. He had profited from a temporary revolt within the ranks of his opposition, and during the four years of his governorship had witnessed a steady closing of the ranks among the Democrats of the state, as they settled their differences. Granting that there undoubtedly were people in the state who joined the Republican ranks during this period because of the position of the party on state and national issues, there can be no question that the major factor in Republican success was Democratic disunity. For Democratic Party leaders it was the second object lesson within a space of thirty-five years, that uncompromised and unresolved intra-party disputes are a constant threat to political supremacy in the presence of a persistent and significant minority party and an electorate that on major issues is likely to abandon party in favor of principle.[119]

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[118] Russell L. Stockard, "Ben W. Hooper, Governor Of Tennessee, His Nomination, Campaign, Election And Achievements" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Tennessee State University, Nashville, 1951), 88.

[119] *Ibid.*

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Translated and Edited by
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* Nos. 9-31)

XXIII—April-May, 1793.

[Translation]

CHEROKEES (BY JOHN McDONALD) TO CARONDELET, CHEROKEE NATION, APRIL 5, 1793[1]

Full of satisfaction and pleasure, the United Cherokee Nation has heard with joy the message of its ambassadors, and gives through me a cordial expression of thanks for the great generosity with which you offer to use the powers at your disposal to alleviate its condition. I translated and explained the letter which they brought in the General Meeting of the Indians called for that purpose: that which the Bloody Fellow and the other chiefs explained to you about the oppression which is suffered here is the same that the Nation expresses.

They complain about the ungenerous manner in which the Americans have appropriated their hunting lands. The first treaty celebrated in Seneca after the war with Great Britain was called Hopewell: in this treaty the Whites obtained concessions from the Indians, but not through the general consent of the Nation, since it is certain that these lands were settled before consent was requested. The passion of the Americans to settle on lands of the Indians is too well known to your Lordship to need explanation, since the Americans, through fraudulent methods customary among them, have usurped the lands of the Indians, the Nation unanimously demands and insists that the ancient boundaries laid down in the treaty with the British Nation be preserved, and asks that Your Lordship use all your powers to obtain this grace from His Majesty, if possible; and in case you cannot obtain it, that you insist that the Cumberland settlement be removed in any event: outside of this there is nothing that will satisfy the Cherokees and Creeks.

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I.,P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1] A.G.I.,P.C., 1447. Enclosed in McDonald to Baron de Carondelet, governor of Louisiana, April 5, 1793, printed in *Publications,* No. 31 (1959), 70-71. John McDonald was a Scotch trader representing Panton, Leslie and Company in the Chickamauga branch of the Cherokee Indians. He was married to an Indian woman named Ann Shorey and lived near Lookout Mountain. His grandson was the famous Chief John Ross. See sketches in H. T. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South* (Athens, Ga., 1956), 9, 54. John Ross's granddaughter, Aggie Lossiah, contributed many of the recipes to the Cherokee cookbook *To Make My Bread,* Mary Ulmer and Samuel E. Beck, editors (Cherokee, N. C, 1951).

Cumberland was settled toward the end of the last war by a certain Robertson and some companions of his who by hiding their voyage and designs seized control of these lands; perhaps the Americans will try to make it appear they possess these lands by open and legal treaties, but this is not so, and the whole Nation declares to the contrary, because the last treaty, and likewise the first, were not clearly explained to the Indians at the place of the Assembly, and they only learned of the contents on their return to the Nation. Robertson and his companions are really and truly the cause of the shedding of so much blood, and the confusion that has existed and still exists is due to this settlement, and while it remains in this place a solid peace cannot be expected. Apart from this settlement the Cherokee Nation declares that it does not want to be an enemy of the Americans; it also declares that it does not make this request from caprice or anger, that the Cherokees have never protested the legality of the previous treaties because the British Government always treated them with justice and humanity.

The Nation also informs Your Lordship that everybody preserves in his heart your counsels for peace, and if possible will not work contrary to them; but if on the other hand, necessity compels it to wage a campaign, it begs Your Lordship not to blame it, for only force can drive it to such an extremity, which will be avoided if possible. The Creeks pass daily in great parties through this Nation, which begs Your Lordship to induce them to remain quiet until the results of the negotiations are known. Given in the Cherokee Nation by me and at the special request of its chiefs and warriors the fifth of April 1793 = John McDonald; Bloody Fellow, his mark; The Glass, his mark; Charles of Chickamauga, his mark; Watters Hunter [Waterhunter], Chief of Chickamauga, his mark; Spider of Lookout Mountain, his mark; Richard Justice; Badger's Mother Warriors; William Shawrey [Shorey], his mark in the name of all the rest of the Cherokee Nation; countersign of Bloody Fellow which he took with him from New Orleans.[2]
The Baron de Carondelet

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, APRIL 13, 1793[3]

No. 259

Enclosed I am sending Your Lordship three relations about as many flatboats that came here from Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Cumberland and have left recently for that Capital. . . .

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet

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[2] Rather intimate sketches of most of these Indians are found in Malone, *Cherokees, passim.* Spider is missing, but a Mr. Badger and his wife are mentioned on p. 131. Bloody Fellow was a principal chief.

[3] A.G.I.,P.C., 42. Gayoso was governor of the Natchez district. For intervening letters see *Publications*, No. 31, pp. 71-82. The identity of these particular barges is not available. Some idea of such travel on the Mississippi at this time can be obtained from the "Log of His Majesty's Galiot, La Fleche," January 5-March 25, 1793, printed in Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley, 1763-1794,* 3 parts, Vols. II, III, and IV, *Annual Report,* American Historical Association (Washington, D. C., 1949), Part III, 111-13.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, APRIL 18, 1793[4]

No. 4

The chief named Mingo Pouscouche of the Village of Conchak, of whom I told you in my preceding letter,[5] has wanted for a long time to see you and talk to you, but knowing that he was useful to me he did not want to separate from me during the whole time of the Assembly at which he always supported our interests with vigor; for instance, when we had to prevent the Choctaw nation from declaring war on the Creeks, for if he had not written they would have been fighting by this time. I can especially recommend him to you and I request a great medal for him for he certainly deserves one. He is the one that has the most influence on the Small Party and on the Party of the Six Villages, which comprises two thirds of the nation and have the two strongest groups of warriors. We must give some authority to this man so that he can show his talents, and I await the orders that it may please you to send me for the good of the Service.

I suggested to Mr. Miró that, when I got all the chiefs into obedience to His Catholic Majesty, three should be made Great Medal Chiefs—one in the Large Party, another in the Small Party, and the other in the Party of the Six Villages, in order to avoid the dissension that has existed among all the Medal Chiefs.[6] When talks have been sent to them they have always fallen out because of what they have against each other. He [Miró] and the Intendant strongly supported my way of thinking, and he [Miró] told me that he would like to carry out the idea but there was always some Counselor who, in spite of all he could do, was busy about something that was not his business, in order to gain some merit for himself, so this could not be carried out. Permit me to observe this now, since I am in the nation myself and know the place better than anyone; furthermore, this plan seems to me to be very useful for the good of the Service. I have seen by experience how Franchimastabé[7] is weak, not having been willing to appear at the last assembly that was held when the Chickasaws sent war talks to the Choctaws, and this was done in order not to be compromised with the Chickasaws. Everything is sly with him. He did not pay attention to the letter that Mr. Gayoso wrote him in favor of the Cherokees, nor did he even open it, saying on the contrary a thousand bad things about them; in short, he is a weak man and we are fortunate that Ytalaghana[8] is a firm man that takes his place from time to time, because otherwise things would be pretty bad in that Party where an assembly is to be held in nine days about the war talk that the Chickasaws have sent and which they do not wish to accept, and in order not to be there at the time, Franchimastabé has just left for Mobile.

As we have to give authority to Mingo Pouscouche in his Party in order to increase his prestige, I beg you to pay close attention to his representation. He will suggest his son to you as a Small Medal Chief, Estonahakio of the Village of Yanabe for Captain, and Mingo Pouscouche of the Chickasaws[9] as Chief of

[4] A.G.I.,P.C., 208. Villebeuvre was Spanish agent to the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations.

[5] Dated April 4, 1793, printed in *Publications*, No. 30 (1958), 103.

[6] See the list of the three divisions of the Choctaw Nation in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III, 283. A partial list of medal chiefs is in *ibid.*, 88-89. Estevan Miró was the former governor of Louisiana.

[7] A Choctaw chief.

[8] Also Italaghana. A great medal Choctaw chief.

[9] Mingo Pouscouche was a Choctaw. The copyist mistakenly called him a "Chicachae." Estonahakio was another Choctaw chief.

the Great Medal, since there is not one in his Villages. He is a man who deserves it from every point of view. He is the only chief in his Party that keeps his word, and every time the Chickasaws send talks or beads to his village it is to him that they address themselves, a definite proof of his merit.

I told you in my preceding letter that if you would try to send a little corn to the Choctaws you would save their lives and this will have a great effect because they are not ignorant of the fact that you had some taken to the Chickasaws, since Ougoulayacabe[10] said much about it in the nation, which will cause a lot of jealousy, and as I told you, this is the moment to speak to Mingo Pouscouche about Old Fort Tombigbee[11] and I am sure we will get it immediately. I have already talked about this matter to some of lesser chiefs of the nation. This same chief intends to tell you about the bad effect that the lack of Taffy has had in this nation and how much they murmur and have murmured against Luis Favre[12] and me, saying that we are the cause of it. He intends to beg you to give some during this critical time and he thinks this will have a great effect on the nation and will increase his power considerably. He has asked me to write to you also about this matter. He also requests two bracelets for himself like those given to Ytalaghana. I also recommend to you Tonahouma[13] of my village and who is a Small Medal Chief, and who conducts himself perfectly. It was he who warned me when I was threatened to be killed. He is very much attached to us.

I have just received a letter from Ougoulayacabe in reply to the one I sent him last[14] and I send you a copy by which you will see that he is still attached to us, but he is outraged against the Creeks who burned his nephew and it looks like he wants to take complete revenge, to which effect he has sent to the Choctaws three red knives—one for the Small Party, one for the Party of the Six Villages, and the other for the Large Party, asking them to declare war also on the Creeks. Although I did not have much time to look around I blocked this move and am happy to tell you that the Choctaws are determined to remain at peace with the Creeks until they kill some of them, which I fear will happen very soon. They await word from you on the return of the Little Chief of Conchak.[15] I fear very much that something will happen between now and that time because some Creeks are always spying in that nation, and I also fear that the Chickasaws, in order to turn the Choctaws against the Creeks, will themselves kill some Choctaws and I would not be surprised if it happened.

The Savages who came from the Chickasaws report that they saw six thousand troops at Muscle Shoals with plenty of arms and ammunition and presents for the Chickasaws and Choctaws: they say that these forces are to go against the Creeks and the Chickasaws are to accompany them, and that they also count on the Choctaws. I presume that this is the army of General Winn[16] about

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[10] Also Ogoulayacabe. A Chickasaw chief.

[11] For this old French fort see *Publications*, No. 29 (1957), 159n.

[12] Villebeuvre was living temporarily at the home of Simon Favre, a trader in the Choctaw Nation often used as interpreter. Luis seems to have been his son. See Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III.

[13] A Choctaw chief.

[14] Ougoulayacabe's letter of April 7, 1793, is printed in *Publications*, No. 31, pp. 70-71. It was a reply to one from Villebeuvre, March 22, 1793, printed in *ibid.*, No. 30, p. 100.

[15] Mingo Pouscouche.

[16] Richard Winn of North Carolina had been United States commissioner with Andrew Pickens and George Matthews sent to mediate the Creek-Georgia War. The rumor here about his army at Muscle Shoals was unfounded.

which you wrote in your preceding letter. This is very fresh news since it arrived here on the 14th of the present month. I do not know if it is true or not, but the way that Ougoulayacabe writes in his letters leads me to believe that it may be true, as you will understand from the threats that the Chickasaw King makes in his letter.

Mr. Ballew[17] has just arrived today in the Choctaw nation from Mobile and handed me your letter of March 27. I will carry out your orders concerning the Vagabond Colwell Eustris[t][18] and the others. He also gave me a letter from Don Pedro Olivier which communicates to me in part the orders that you gave to him relative to the permanent assembly that you want held at the ball ground on the Yazoo River,[19] and he told me that you have promised a reward to Mr. Ballew for leading the Creeks there. I foresee many difficulties to this plan since there is a war going on between the Chickasaws and this nation, and I fear very much that they do not want to expose themselves to undertake a journey as risky as that from the Choctaw nation and the Yazoo River to the Ball Ground, which the Chickasaws would not fail to hear about and waylay them on the road. You will recall that I wrote you in my letter of March 8 last that I have suggested to the Choctaws the formation of two embassies, one to the Chickasaws and the other to the Creeks, to act as mediators in discussing peace between the two nations, but they asserted that the risk was too great and did not consent to the idea. Don Pedro Olivier proposed to me the sending of some Choctaw chiefs on an embassy to the Creeks as mediators in the difficulty between the Chickasaws and the Creeks if this could be accomplished. I would be very much flattered if this could be done and I will do my utmost to bring it about, and, if they consent, will have Mr. Ballew leave for those nations with two great Medal Chiefs, four Small Medal Chiefs, and some warriors, for if, unfortunately, the Creeks should kill one or the other of these Chiefs it would have a very bad effect. This is what I fear. It is still my opinion that peace must be made between the Chickasaws and the Creeks before thinking of a permanent assembly; nevertheless, I will carry out your orders punctually and do my best, and I hope that you will not be angry about the observations I have made because I am on the spot and know the mind of the nation and hear them talk every day.

The Chickasaws, thinking only of defending themselves, have made three sorties to the Village of Piomingo,[20] four to the Great Village named Ogoula Tchito, one to Chatalaya and one to Yanacha. . . .

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Boukfouka, April 18, 1793

VILLEBEUVRE TO OUGOULAYACABE, BOUKFOUKA, APRIL 25, 1793[21]

Boukfouka the 25 April 1793

My Brother

Aldo [although] you Mention in your last letter to look on it as your Self I Cannot forbear wyle you are alive to Assure you of my friends[hip] for you

[17] Bennett Ballew. See *Publications,* No. 27 (1955), 95.

[18] Not identified.

[19] Carondelet's letter of March 27 is not available, nor is the one mentioned from Olivier. The Governor's ideas on the "permanent assembly" are found in his "Proposal for an Indian Congress, February 26, 1793," in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 141-43. For Captain Pedro Olivier see *Publications,* No. 31, p. 63n.

[20] The village of Chief Piomingo of the Chickasaw Indians was Long Town.

[21] A.G.I.,P.C., 208. It was enclosed in Villebeuvre to Carondelet, April 28, 1793, printed below.

and your Nation aldo in your last letter to me you Seem to be doubtfull of. I can Not help telling you that if you have anny doubt they are unjustely Grounded as I can Assure you and the Rest of your nation that I have Whrote & done Every thing in my power to the Creeks at Several times, and join you in Misfortune of there [their] falling to the Ground. the prinsiple men of that nation being Absent from there at the time I sent my letters and talks. however I am Still indeavoring. having had News that the Commissary is Returned to the creeks I am Going to Write to him and Send Some Cheff [Chief] to try to Reestables a peace between you and I do not doubt that your father before now has taken Every Step Usfull in his power to Conclude it

I Remain your
friend & Brother

The Bearer tells me Some news which he will Without doubt communicate to you

Coppee of a letter to
Ougelayackabe

VILLEBEUVRE TO THE CHICKASAW NATION, BOUKFOUKA, APRIL 25, 1793[22]

Boukfouka the 25 April 1793

My Brothers

Hear the Words of my Mouth for they are Spoken for they Good. give ear to my Admonition for it proceedth from love, I have Watched for thy Welfare & have toiled for thy ease, We are Children of one father provided for by his care and your Brothers Chactaws [Choctaws] & Creeks like of One Mother had given you Suck, let the bonds of Affection there for unite the with thy Brothers that pease and happeness may dwell amongst you, And aldo Seperate in the World Remember the Relation that bindeth you to love and Unity And prefer not a Stranger before thine Brother. if your Brother is in Adversity have Recourse with patience for your fathers Advise & determination So Shall your father Contribute to the Support of your whole Race and his care be continued to you all in your love to Each Other

from your
friend & Brother
JVB

Coppee of a Lettre to the
Nation in General of Chickesaws

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, APRIL 28, 1793[23]

No. 5

I indicated to you in my letter No. 4[24] that the Choctaws of The Small Party are in no mind to admit the war talk that the Chickasaws have sent, and on the 26th there will be another assembly in The Large Party for the same purpose, about which I told you. It is therefore with satisfaction that I inform you that The Six Villages and The Large Party are of the same mind as the others, and say that they will not declare war on the Creeks unless they kill some of their Nation.

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[22] A.G.I.,P.C., 208.
[23] A.G.I.,P.C., 208.
[24] Dated April 18, 1793, printed above.

I have also told you about the proposals that Don Pedro Olivier made me about sending some Choctaw Chiefs to the Creeks in an embassy to try to persuade them to go to the Congress at the ball ground on the Yazoo, as in this last assembly. The chiefs of the three Parties were there. I made them propositions showing them Mr. Ballew who was present, and who said that he would go with them, but none of them would consent saying that the son of Red Shoes[25] of the Alibamons told them, when he came to the Choctaws, that the Creek Chiefs ought to come themselves on an embassy to the Choctaws when the corn was grown, and that therefore he would await them every day. For their part they did not want to risk being killed by a nation upon whose word they could not depend, and which fell short each moment and continually did them harm in their own land, and not only killed the Whites of the Nation but also those of the Natchez who are all Spaniards. What will they not do on the road there or on the way! Here literally is their answer, and although I have taken all the necessary precautions to make them promise, having made talks to them separately through Favre, and at different times, it has not been possible to get them to decide, but they have given some beads to Bellew which form two branches, one showing the white way between them and the Creeks and the other the peace they want to make with the Chickasaws. I have therefore decided to have Mr. Bellew start immediately with the talks for the Creeks, and I have written to Milfort[26] to hurry this embassy so as to be able to treat of peace with the Choctaws as well as with the Chickasaws, and from there start for the assembly. The decision of the Creeks will determine everything, if at the time the Chickasaws would agree to the propositions made by Turnbull.[27] I have great fears that the change from Tombigbee, where the Cherokee chiefs told me the Assembly should be held, to the ball ground on the Yazoo River, will cause some difficulties between the Creeks and Cherokees.

Today, April 27, I have received the orders from Mr. Gayoso[28] about the assembly of the four nations at the ball ground on the Yazoo the last day of June. I will follow these instructions and will still go and talk to the principal chiefs that he indicated to me and let them know how much it is to their interest that the meeting should be held as soon as possible, and, finally, tell them about everything he instructed me to talk about to them, and add some other reflections that will not be disadvantageous. He writes me that Turnbull has left for the Chickasaws to get them to stop their war with the Creeks and go to the assembly. If he achieves this it will be a big victory for the Chickasaws are determined to follow him as you can see by the letters they have written to me, and of which I sent you copies. But if we can get the war stopped from both sides they could go and arrange their differences at the assembly, which I look upon as no small thing, for the Chickasaws do not want to give up any heads, and instead demand some, and the Creeks have no intentions of giving up any either.

Today the Chickasaw King is a great friend of Piomingo, as is Olacta Opaye, or Glover,[29] and it seems to me that they put a lot of trust in help from the Americans, and Piomingo is a better politician than the others without any doubt and has won them over. Ougoulayacabe is not of the same opinion and has

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[25] For Red Shoes see *Publications*, No. 29 (1957), 143n.

[26] Louis le Clerc Milfort (or Milford), Alexander McGillivray's brother-in-law who hoped to succeed him. See *ibid.*, No. 31, p. 79n.

[27] John Turnbull. See *ibid.*, No. 29, p. 142n.

[28] See comments on this letter in Gayoso to Carondelet, April 11, 1793, printed in *ibid.*, No. 31, pp. 81-82.

[29] For this mestizo chief, William Glover, see *ibid.*, 78n.

written me that he will die a Spanish chief, but he is almost alone and is obliged to espouse the Cause of his nation since his nephew has been burned lately by the Creeks and he weeps continually, which is the reason he has sent this war talk to the Choctaws. Finally, I have great confidence in Turnbull, for if he does not achieve this nobody can. Undoubtedly he has considerable power in the nation and is now a strong friend.

I send you the enclosed copy of a letter written by the Chickasaws to The Large Party,[30] which is to be opened at the assembly on the Great Yazoo, as also the answer which I made to Ougoulayacabe and the other Chickasaw chiefs. . . .[31]

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Boukfouka, April 28, 1793.

Mr. Bellew is leaving for the Creeks and, having no horses to make the journey, asked me for some, which I cannot procure, those of the King having been stolen by the Savages about six months ago and no news has been heard of them until now, as I wrote you at the time I told of one horse dying. I was obliged to buy two for his journey at forty piastres each, of which I informed Mr. Gayoso, and I hope you will not disapprove.

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General

CHICKASAWS TO THE UPPER CHOCTAW TOWNS, [1793][32]

The Contents of a letter Wrote by the Chikesaws to the Chiefs in the Upper towns of the Chactaws

We have Recieved your talk but believe you to be Wizards for before We had time to Smoke your tobacco our people has Resented the Continual in Sults of the Creeks and as we are Blood Relations and the Creeks a large Nation and not ignorent of the just reason as you have been part Sufferers your Self having drove[33] killed our White people and not Satisfied with that but now has killed our Own people We now Crave your Assistans on so just a Cause & hope that you wil not Suffer the Creeks that Gose to the Natchez to Murder to pas or or Repas through your nation Without killing them I hope you will look on this talk as of Great Consequence we have the Spaniards that calls us their Childeren so dose the Americans we will See now who is Realy our friends

from your Eldery Brothers
Signd By all the Cheifes
of the Chikesaws

[Translation]

VILLEBEUBRE TO GAYOSO, [BOUKFOUKA?], 1793[34]

Sir and Dear Governor

Mr. Fooy tells me that you indicated to him that you have not received my letters for a long time.[35] It is true that while the bayous were overflowed, and the Creeks

[30] This undated letter of the "Chickasaws to the Upper Choctaw Towns" is printed following this one.

[31] Both letters, dated April 25, 1793, are printed above.

[32] A.G.I.,P.C., 208. Enclosed in Villebeuvre to Carondelet, April 28, 1793, printed above.

[33] Something was omitted here from the copy sent to Carondelet.

[34] A.G.I.,P.C., 2353.

[35] Gayoso to Benjamin Fooy, April 7, 1793 (A.G.I.,P.C., 2353, photostat in the McClung Collection) mentions the fact. This letter has been omitted because of similarity to Gayoso's letter to Turnbull of the same date, printed in *Publications,* No. 31, pp. 72-75.

terrorized the roads, I was obliged to abandon it for some time, but afterward I sent three couriers to inform you of what was happening in the Nations, with copies of letters from the Chickasaws, of which you have not yet acknowledged receipt. I think that you have not yet received them, and for that reason I number all my letters to you, and you may be assured that I will do all possible to keep you informed of what happens in such a critical time as that in which we are now; besides I recognize that I must be busy and am every day by inclination, I pray you to believe that I am occupied every day from morning till evening on matters of new replies to the bad talks that are introduced from the outside by the Chickasaws, so that I am constantly engrossed in the accounts and the stories that I meet daily, so that I do not have a moment of time to write to my friends.

I wish I could see you right now and discuss with you many points essential to the service of the King, for often the matters are of a nature that destroys all the results of my efforts, and are truly disgusting.

I await with impatience the time when I can see you and hope to manage so that this flattering instant will not be delayed. . . .

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Don Manuel de Gayoso, Governor of Natchez

P.S. I beg you to forward the letter to my wife to Mr. de Verbois,[36] commandant of Manchak.

[Translation]

PORTELL TO CARONDELET, NEW MADRID, MAY 7, 1793[37]

No. 1

Copy

On the first of the current month the eldest son of General Robertson[38] arrived in a flatboat from Cumberland, as stated in the original manifest sent to you by his father, and which the said son delivered. With tact and without causing any suspicions I managed to ascertain what was his destination, which he said without dissimulation was the Chickasaw Bluffs in the Chickasaw Nation,[39], and that he was carrying four hundred bushels of corn to relieve the shortage in that nation and to give them some relief in the war they are carrying on with the Talapuches or Creeks; he also informed me that he had on board some Indians of the said nation, whom, out of curiosity, and to see what he knew of them, I had him tell to come and give me the hand, which they did; and, since most of them speak English, I recommended them to the interpreter who was able to get from them, while Robertson ate with me, that Congress had sent them a cannon, that its size and caliber are as stated in the enclosed paper, and later through curiosity, when I returned Robertson's visit, I saw it on the deck on entering the boat and he informed me that it was a species of small howitzer of about a three pounder size, very convenient to transport on horseback. Since it was a matter of such small import I have made no move to take it, but I have tried to ascertain if he brought others of larger caliber, or any munitions, and I am almost certain that

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Fooy, a former resident in the Choctaw Nation, was used by Villebeuvre as interpreter. *Ibid.,* No. 29, p. 141.

[36] Otherwise unidentified.

[37] A.G.I.,P.C., 1447. Capt. Thomas Portell was commandant at New Madrid (L'Ainse a la Graisse). See *Publications,* No. 29, p. 157.

[38] Elijah Robertson. His father was General James Robertson.

[39] On the completion of Elijah Robertson's mission to Chickasaw Bluffs, see below Gayoso to Carondelet, May 31, 1793. The Chickasaw Bluffs included the site of Memphis, Tennessee.

there are none, although I am not absolutely sure since there is so much corn on board and they could be hidden under it, and although my doubts about this are supported by Waters,[40] who arrived here in his own boat about the same time, and who assures me that there were such things on board the boat in Cumberland, and that there is more than meets the eye, I have accepted the appearances of the matter in order not to break the laws of peace.

I have also been informed by Waters that Robertson's father is to pass here to make a treaty with the said nation, and that it is feared that he is to make a settlement on Chickasaw Bluffs, which if true will be most inconvenient for us.

Although the letter of Robertson is courteous, it seems to me to be suspicious without my being able to say just where it is defective. What he says in it that he sent me for the Delaware or Abenaqui Indians I have not received, so I have done nothing about what he insinuates he has written.

All of what I have mentioned makes me suspect that they are not acting in very good faith with us, and that they are using the pretext of succoring the Indians to introduce themselves into their lands even to settling on the said Bluffs, for a trader who has come from the said nation has told me that the number of Americans that he saw there was not inconsiderable.

What I have stated seems to me to merit an extraordinary express to Your Lordship, and so I am sending this in a pirogue entrusted to Francisco Racine, a resident of this Post who did not want to go down there for less than sixty pesos to be paid there in silver, and I have assured him that you will send him back by a good opportunity without cost to him. Of the other three oarsmen that he takes with him, two agreed to go for forty pesos each and the other is undecided, and in order not to lose time I will tell you in a postscript, and as for the other things they will have to be on the same terms as for all.

With the greatest efforts exhausted to detain Robertson without giving the appearance of being concerned about it, I believe there could never be an occasion when time is so necessary for the squadron to arrive at the said destination, for the master of the launch *La Verdom* informs me that it is very slow in arriving there, which makes me think that you have decided on something else; but in case this is not so, I will live with due vigilance in order to advise the squadron and Your Lordship of anything that comes to my notice, to which end I sent off two men at dawn yesterday to find out all they can at the said Chickasaw Bluffs.

I hope that you approve of this decision, for I thought it worthy of bringing to your notice. . . .

New Madrid, May 7, 1793.

Thomas Portell —

Señor Baron de Carondelet
[Certified by]
The Baron de Carondelet

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO GAYOSO, BOUKFOUKA, MAY 12, 1793[41]

Since Mr. Davenport[42] is leaving for Natchez I profit by the occasion to inform you of the treaty that I have just proposed to the Choctaws in the name of His

[40] Dr. Richard Jones Waters, one of the Americans who had settled in New Madrid with Col. George Morgan. Waters was now engaged in trade on the rivers of the Mississippi Valley. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* II, 84-88, 126.

[41] A.G.I.,P.C., 2353.

[42] Not to be confused with William Davenport, one of the Bourbon County commissioners in 1786 and murdered in the Choctaw Nation in 1787. See *Publications,* No. 11 (1939), 87-88. Probably James Davenport, who lived in Natchez in 1798. *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-61), I, 892, 903.

Catholic Majesty, by which I have gotten them to cede 30 square *arpents*[43] of land, in breadth as well as length, where the French Fort Tombecbe[44] was situated fifteen leagues from the Nation, and therefore much more useful than the other which is forty. I have much to think about but I have been worried about fighting with them and destroying the counsel that Piomingo, Ogoulayacabe, and all the other chiefs of the Chickasaws have given them of never permitting a fort to be built in that place, nor of permitting any settlement there. The assembly of all the chiefs of the Small Party gathered at my residence, and the treaty was signed on May 10[45] by twenty-six Large and Small Medal Chiefs and Captains. The treaty was sent directly to New Orleans by two active young persons, who were to travel day and night to announce that news to the Baron,[46] who will be flattered by it, the more so because none of the Choctaws knew anything about it until two days before the assembly, when it was necessary for him to have them advised, and therefore that news did not reach the Chickasaws for some time, for if Piomingo had found it out there is no doubt that Gòvernor Blount would have known it certainly, and if, as the Governor General indicated to me in his letter of April 20, ratification of the treaty is hurried through, the workers and tools necessary for the construction of the fort and store can be there before the Americans can put any obstacles in the way, which I hope will not happen.

I have given my word to the Choctaw chiefs to hold the Assembly at the Ball Ground on the Yazoo. They have begged me to advise them ten nights before holding it and they will come there. I believe that many of them will go according to how hunger torments them and the hunting goes.

I had Ballew leave for the Creeks and sent a copy of your letter to Don Pedro Olivier and I am awaiting here for 12 or 15 days the return of his reply and embassy. If they come I shall be very happy about it, if I can prevent what I indicated to you in my former letter.

The Nation has been quiet for about three weeks or a month, for no more Creeks appear on our Coast.

As Benjamin Fooy learned from the Choctaws that the Chickasaws have declared war on the Creeks, he turned back and came to seek me among the Choctaws, with which the Governor General has not been satisfied, and he ordered me to have him depart immediately for the Chickasaws, which he did on the 4th of the current month. I have given him a Choctaw chief to guide him for whom it is necessary for me to pay, and I have not any merchandise to give him on his return, and I find myself in a really embarrassing situation for myself and for the service of the King, which sometimes suffers from it.

I have already written to the Chickasaws by Fooy in order that they meet him at the assembly, this notice to the King [of the Chickasaws], Ogoulayacabe and Piomingo, from you, which I doubt not will be successful if Turnbull has left them.

Boukfouka, May 12, 1793

Juan de la Villebeuvre

P.S. I am sending you enclosed a copy of the Treaty.

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[43] An *arpent* was a French measure equal to about one and one-half acres.

[44] Also Tombigbee.

[45] The text of this treaty is in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *España y las Indias Cherakis y Chactas en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII* (Sevilla, 1916), 90.

[46] Carondelet.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, MAY 16, 1793[47]

Confidential No. 10

In recent days several embassies have arrived from the Ohio, and among the individuals who came in them is James Pikes,[48] a man of good conduct, who left this district last year to return to the United States to look for part of his goods he left there; he comes lastly from Cumberland, where he talked intimately with General Robertson, and he reports the following:

That at the beginning of April a warning arrived there from General Blount[49] informing the inhabitants that a body of sixty or seventy Creeks had joined another of Shawnees for the purpose of attacking the inhabitants of that country, and commanding that a troop of seventy horsemen be raised, and also some infantry, to protect the frontier;

That said Governor Blount was called to Congress for which he left at the beginning of March;

That he believes that the son of General Robertson is now in the Chickasaw Nation, since he was to leave Cumberland five days after he [Pike] left, with help for that nation in the form of corn, iron for plows, and harness for teams, with various kinds of farm implements, the idea of the Americans being to introduce agriculture among the Indians;

That General Robertson showed him some American newspapers that had published that Your Lordship and Brigadier Arturo O'Neill harangued the Creeks telling them specifically that now or never is the time to attack the Americans, and that you are supplying them with arms and ammunition so they can do this; That the said General questioned him on this point because he had been in the country recently, to which this individual replied that he could not persuade himself that the report was true, for in May of last year a Congress was held here, and that he had heard not a single talk of that nature, and that he believes the same policy is being followed in New Orleans, to which other reasons were added such as the good treatment the Americans receive in this Province.

He has also told me that he has a brother, a Captain of Cavalry in the Army of General Wayne, to whom he wrote last year when here, informing him that he was thinking about settling in this country, to which the said brother, the Captain of Cavalry, replied a short time ago to the effect that he would counsel not to do this, or at least to postpone coming down here until he could see him, giving the impression that something was planned against this country;

That within four or five days he expects here a certain Thomas,[50] a companion of his who comes from Monongahela, a man that is a great friend of news and has a facility for obtaining it; that when this man arrives he will question him immediately and inform me about what is projected in the United States; That by the same Thomas he may receive letters from this aforementioned brother, in which case he will show them to me.

I have news also that the English have five thousand troops in Detroit, and that every day rations are given there to thousands of Indians of the area, but

[47] A.G.I.,P.C., 42.
[48] For a list of Pike's companions see Gayoso to Carondelet, May 16, 1793, below.
[49] Governor William Blount of the Southwest Territory.
[50] Possibly William Thomas, listed in Natchez census, 1792.

that it is not known definitely what is the object of this conduct, although it is suspected that these forces will move toward the Miami.

I am assured also that an American colonel from one of their Provinces (I believe the Carolinas) is raising a body of a thousand men without letting their destination be known, but that Congress disapproves of his conduct.

For a long time I have feared that the Americans, in order to molest me, would make use of our Indian allies rather than by direct force. If it is true that the Americans are sending farm implements to the Chickasaws to accustom them to cultivating the soil, it may be for three reasons; one, to get the Indians away from dependence on hunting for subsistence and in this way get them at last to cede their hunting lands; two, and perhaps the preferred reason over the first, is that of having in the Chickasaw Nation crops of corn and other grains on which an American army could subsist there, which would be impossible at present; and three, a subterfuge to be able to send Americans among these Indians on the pretext of teaching them to cultivate the soil and in this way build the beginning of a settlement.

The meaning of the letter that Pikes received from his brother, warning him not to come down to this country before seeing him seems to be concerned with the project of which I have had reports, and of which I have previously informed Your Excellency, about a body of bandits who are thinking of coming down to this province to see if they can settle in it, which was at first opposed by Congress but later supported by it, and it may well be concerned with the body of men reported to be recruited in Carolina, although against the express orders of Congress.

The English troops gathered at Detroit, or already in the country of the Miamis with a number of Indians, about whom mention has been made, I do not believe are against our interests, but are there to help the Miamis against the insults of the Americans, and to push back the latter and make settlements themselves in that country, which would make the capture of Detroit by the Americans more difficult.

All of these reports, supported by others that I have direct from the Indians and which I will communicate to Your Lordship, make more urgent the completion of the defenses of this province, especially above Latitude 31°, for surely these moves by the Americans have no object other than the preparation of more effective measures if our Court does not satisfy them in their present negotiations about the boundaries and trade down this River.

I trust that after taking into consideration all that I have recounted to Your Lordship, you will be pleased to help me with whatever things you can furnish, so that I will be in position to preserve this territory of the District under my care against attacks of an enemy as despicable as these bandits I have mentioned, in case I have even moderate forces with which to defend myself; but if Your Excellency weakens my garrisons, and does not permit me to work as I think necessary, it will risk not only the fate of this District but perhaps that of the whole Province.

May the Lord keep Your Excellency many years, Natchez, May 16, 1793.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, MAY 16, 1793[51]

No. 278

Enclosed I am sending to Your Excellency a relation of three Boats that arrived here from Cumberland, two of which went on down to that Capital, and the other remained here.

May God Keep Your Excellency many years, Natchez, May 16, 1793.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet

Declaration given by Roger McKuilen of the crews of the three Boats from Cumberland and the cargo they bring, to wit:

Crews

He himself — Roger McKuilen
Samuel Lemond
James Bosbue
Isaac Core [Correy?]
James Pike

Remained in
this Plaza
Thomas Cognigar
Samuel Baker
José [Jans]
William Doze
Nancy Elias

Cargo

One hundred and forty barrels of corn
Eighty-three barrels of lime
Five packages of deer skins

For which the owner has paid none of the duties, and has left one of the Boats, and the eighty-three barrels of lime. Natchez, May 16, 1793.

Francisco Gutierrez

Visto Bueno
Gayoso

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO CASAS, NEW ORLEANS, MAY 22, 1793[52]

No. 78

Confidential Most Excellent Sir:

I am sending to Your Excellency the translation of a representation sent me by the Cherokee nation,[53] now at war with the United States, whose deputies came to this capital in November of last year, to implore help from the Spanish nation against the usurpations of the American settlements West of the Appalachain Mountains, who, according to their account, after various wars

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[51] A.G.I.,P.C., 42. A notation of this communication by Carondelet stated that the boats reached New Orleans on May 24.

[52] A.G.I.,P.C., 1447. Luis de las Casas was captain general for Cuba.

[53] Cherokees to Carondelet, April 5, 1793, printed above.

in which they lost two thirds of their warriors and leaving their nation reduced from eight thousand men, which it had before, to two thousand, the [Americans] still want to dispossess them of their only useful hunting lands between the Cumberland and the Tennessee, as I explained in my confidential letters Nos. 22, 23 and 24 of November 13, 20, and 28 of last year to His Excellency and Conde de Aranda.[54]

The said representation is a result of the talk or letter which I sent to the Cherokee nation, a copy of which Your Excellency will find enclosed in the said No. 24.[55] Its contents prove positively the falsity of the accusation made against me by the inhabitants of the Cumberland settlement, and which the Philadelphia newspapers have referred to without any foundation whatever, to the effect that I was the promotor of the last hostilities committed against the Cumberland settlement by the Cherokees.

It is apparent that the public interest requires that American settlements be removed as far as possible from the vicinity of the Mississippi River, and from the mouth of the Ohio; for the same reason it would be infinitely advantageous to get the United States to have the inhabitants of the Cumberland settlement to retire from that part of the river of the same name, and recognize this as the dividing line with the Cherokee nation. The great desire shown by the United States to conclude a general peace with the Indian tribes, the satisfaction which the State of Kentucky has shown with the provisional reduction of duties that I have made for the reasons I am explaining in a letter of this date to the Minister of State, makes me believe that if His Majesty would deign to interpose his mediation in favor of that nation against the United States, they would easily relax some pretensions whose advantages interest only Governor Blount and a very few inhabitants whose possessions have not increased much because of continuous attacks from the Creeks, Cherokees, and the other nations to the North.

The results that would accrue to Spain from the success of this negotiation are the following: first, it would put at a distance and weaken a settlement which would in a few years extend to the Mississippi itself on which the Americans already carry on a considerable clandestine trade, and which cannot be stopped without keeping a galley or an armed schooner at New Madrid; second, it would incommode and disappoint Governor Blount, the author of all the disturbances and disagreements among our allied nations, and interrupt the hostile projects of those settlements against the territories of His Majesty; and lastly, it would extend the fame and understanding of the power of Spain among the Cherokees and the tribes of the North, their allies, with the certainty of preserving that valiant nation which covers the East bank of the Mississippi, is friendly to Spain, and is always ready to oppose the attempts of the Americans to come nearer to this province, but this cannot be obtained without exciting the distrust of the one that finds itself surrounded, in this case of their settlements. . . .

New Orleans, May 22, 1793.

Most Excellent Sir.

The Baron de Carondelet

His Excellency Don Luis de las Casas

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[54] The letters of November 20 and 28 are printed in *Publications*, No. 28 (1956), 136-37, 139-41. That of November 13, 1793, is in A.G.I.,P.C., 1446. Conde de Aranda was foreign minister of Spain.

[55] This talk, dated November 23, 1793, is printed in *Publications*, No. 28, pp. 137-38.

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO CASAS, NEW ORLEANS, MAY 22, 1793[56]

No. 79

Confidential Most Excellent Sir:

By the contents of the letter, which accompanies, as No. 1,[57] from the commandant of the Post of New Madrid situated twelve leagues below the mouth of the Ohio, Your Excellency will learn of the designs of the United States to make a settlement fifty leagues farther down at Chickasaw Bluffs, using as a pretext the aiding of the Chickasaws against the Creeks. The fatal consequences of such a post, which will give them an advantageous port on the Mississippi, can be deduced from the confidential letter No. 26 to the Conde de Aranda, and to Your Excellency under No. 62:[58] these same reports had incited me to forestall them by occupying the said Bluffs, which would have been done for certain, for the squadron of galleys, carrying on board all that was necessary for the purpose, was about to sail secretly from Natchez with that in view, when I found myself forced to suspend my orders for the reasons I explained to Your Excellency in confidential letter No. 66 of January 24,[59] in which decision I was confirmed by the Royal Order of February 12, which Your Excellency communicated to me under date of [ ] of April last, for me to prepare for war with France; so I caused the galleys, which are so necessary for the defense of the mouth of the Mississippi River, to drop down there when I learned that several persons from the Province had left for France to concert an expedition against this Capital, which expedition would require only some eight hundred men transported in three war frigates, and may be sent, since it is known that once the capital surrenders the whole province will be lost, and that in this place there are many partisans of France.

Not being able to attend to two places so far apart with the few forces at my disposal, since it is not possible to go up from the Balise[60] to New Madrid in less than three months, it has seemed best to turn to the danger that is nearest and most apparent, and try to remove the other through negotiations, so I have written to Brigadier Robertson of the State of Cumberland the letter of which a copy accompanies his under No. 2,[61] and I have written to His Majesty's agents in Philadelphia about all that is going on, in the hope that perhaps they can obtain an order from Congress for Robertson to abstain from mixing in the affairs of the Chickasaws, or at least to refrain from sending cannon to Chick-

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[56] A.G.I.,P.C., 1447.

[57] Portell to Carondelet, May 7, 1793, printed above.

[58] Apparently a reference to the unnumbered letter of Carondelet to Casas, January 9, 1793, A.G.I.,P.C., 1447 (photostat in the McClung Collection), which stated that No. 26 was enclosed. Carondelet stated briefly that three different reports had it that the Americans were going to settle at Chickasaw Bluffs, at Muscle Shoals, and on the Yazoo, and were preparing from 50 to 150 flatboats for the purpose. He was going to forestall their actions by sending a squadron of five galleys and a gunboat to Chickasaw Bluffs under the guise of sending corn to the Indians.

[59] This letter is in A.G.I.,P.C., 1447 (photostat in the McClung Collection). Rumors of war between Spain and France had caused Carondelet to cancel his plans for sending the squadron to Chickasaw Bluffs and concentrate on defending New Orleans. He was short of men and vessels, and begged Casas for reenforcements. On his problem see Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, xxi-xxviii.

[60] Balize was an old French post near the mouth of the Mississippi, reoccupied by the Spanish. *Ibid.,* I, xvi.

[61] The letter to Robertson is in "Robertson Correspondence," *American Historical Magazine,* II (October, 1897), 364-66.

asaw Bluffs,[62] which could serve after this is over to maintain control there whatever the wishes of the nation to which the lands belong.

After representing to His Excellency the Duke of Alcudia what is expressed in confidential letter No. 9,[63] I observed to His Excellency that perhaps it would be possible to remove, or cause to vanish, this project through efficacious measures, or for His Majesty to decide to use force to impede the Americans sending arms or a body of troops into the Mississippi River, which I consider possible with the five galleys that I have; for until the Americans obtain a port on the Mississippi where they can construct galleys, they will encounter a thousand difficulties in passing the falls of the Ohio with vessels large enough to combat ours; but in that case it would be necessary to construct three other galleys here to protect the entrance of the river at Balise, which could be completed within three months at a cost of six thousand pesos; or to send here under my orders a war frigate armed with thirty twelve pounder guns to defend the River, to remain here during the contest with France, as was done by His Majesty's frigate *Volante* during the war of 80.[64]

Finally, I informed His Excellency that if the Americans succeed in settling on Chickasaw Bluffs, not only will they be in a short time masters of the navigation of the Mississippi through the advantages of being in a situation above Walnut Hills,[65] Natchez, and New Orleans, to which by means of the rapid current they could arrive in a few days, while going up to the Bluffs would require months, but they will force Spain to desist from her right of collecting duties on all of their products that come down the Ohio and Mississippi to this Capital; exacting, as they could then do, equal duties on all those products, and goods, which come down to our settlements in Illinois, New Madrid, etc. as they pass the Bluffs, which could not be prevented because in that place there is a whirlpool which forces boats to pass within pistol shot of the hill which dominates the river, and on which they would erect the fort. All of which I communicate for Your Excellency's information. . . .
New Orleans, May 22, 1793.

Most Excellent Sir,
The Baron de Carondelet

His Excellency Don Luis de las Casas.

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO CASAS, NEW ORLEANS, MAY 23, 1793[66]

No. 81

Confidential

By the contents of the enclosed letter from the Governor of Natchez[67] your Excellency will learn of the last reports that have recently come from Cumber-

[62] A. P. Whitaker, *The Spanish American Frontier, 1783-1795* (New York and Boston, 1927), 170-71, says that instead of getting Josef de Jaudenes and Josef Ygnacio de Viar, the Spanish chargé d' affaires, to block American expansion, Carondelet only made them unpopular with the Washington administration and helped the Americans score a triumph when negotiations were transferred to Madrid.

[63] May 24, 1793. Translation in Houc, *Spanish Regime in Missouri,* I, 413-14.

[64] Reference is to the effective defence of the Mississippi during the American Revolution by the frigate *Volante* and a number of smaller vessels under orders from Governor Bernardo de Gálvez. See Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba,* 4 vols. (Madrid, 1868-1878), III, 144.

[65] Site of Vicksburg.

[66] A.G.I.,P.C., 1447.

[67] Gayoso to Carondelet, May 16, 1793, printed above.

land, which agree in essentials with what has been communicated to me by the Commandant of New Madrid, whose letter[68] I enclosed in confidential No. 79.[69]

What the American newspapers say about Brigadier Arturo O'Neill and me is disproved by the letter or talk which the Cherokee Nation sent me recently, which Your Excellency will find in confidential letter No. 78;[70] but this incident, and all the previous ones indicate clearly that the United States, or their western settlements, are looking for pretexts to justify attacks against these dominions of His Majesty, which would have had the effects sought had we not rushed to put them in a reasonable state of defense.

I have taken advantage of the sailing of a vessel for Philadelphia recently to inform the King's agents of these reports, sending them at the same time in a confidential letter the said talk from the Cherokee Nation, for whatever use they can make of it, and to undeceive Congress about the false accusations of Governor Blount, the principal promotor of these and other misunderstandings which have stirred up the Indians.

In view of all of these things Your Excellency will decide what is your will concerning the termination of the works at Natchez, and about reducing its garrison, I myself taking into consideration always what you have informed me previously about the one or the other. . . .

New Orleans, May 23, 1793. . . .

The Baron de Carondelet

His Excellency Don Luis de las Casas

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO GAYOSO, BOUKFOUKA, MAY 25, 1793[71]

No. 1

Mr. Benjamin Fooy, whom I have sent at your command to the Chickasaws, arrived the 20th of the current month and has sent me a letter from Ogoulayacabe for you, which I send enclosed, and one which he has addressed to me[72] in which he told me to convey in his name many reproaches to the Chactaws who have stolen from them many horses that he is demanding, and he says that he does not feel contented because they have burned a cabin, and that although they are enemies the Creeks have not done this much injury. Fooy also said that when he arrived in the Chickasaws Turnbull was not there, and fearing that he would die of hunger he was obliged to leave the boat farther down than he was accustomed, but that he had sent for the Chickasaw King, Colbert, Mongoulachamingo and Tchinabe so that these four chiefs could speak for the Chickasaw Nation and return to Kantabatia the place of rendezvous. He put them in his boat and sent back Mongoulachamingo with a talk to Ogoulayacabe[73] and the rest of the Nation, and has taken them down to the place where his sons are discussing a treaty concerning furs, after which he says they will return to the Assembly.

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[68] Captain Thomas Portell to Carondelet, May 7, 1793, printed above.

[69] Printed above. The date was May 22, 1793.

[70] Printed above, also dated May 22, 1793. The "talk" of the Cherokees was that of April 5, 1793, above.

[71] A.G.I.,P.C., 2353.

[72] These letters are not available.

[73] Mongoulachamingo, Tchinabe, and Ougoulayacabe were the Chickasaw chiefs selected by Governor Blount the previous September to accompany Piomingo to Philadelphia. See Kinnaird (ed.), III, 81. George Colbert seems to have been the mestizo chief indicated. The King was Taskihatoka, and the rendezvous seems to have been the Small Party Choctaw village of Kanlabatia.

Mr. Fooy returned to the Chickasaws and found two Creeks, who have been sent by the chiefs of a party of 800 men who came by surprise to the Chickasaws to propose peace, which Ogoulayacabe and the other chiefs have accepted with pleasure although Piomingo and the people of his village, as well as some of the others, were not there. They believed for a while that the Creeks were imposing on them, but Fooy having assured Ogoulayacabe that it was not so and that he had heard me say the same, they accepted the talks and one of them has left with a letter and some beads to assure the Creeks that they ask nothing better than to live at peace with them, and they have told Fooy that after returning to the Chickasaws at the end of the summer they will come here with the reply of the Chiefs. Ogoulayacabe says that he doubts very much that Piomingo will consent to the peace because he is urged on by the Americans like an angry dog and has so much confidence in them that he would injure his own nation in order to please them, but that when he returns, whether he wishes it or not, the Nation will make peace. On the other hand, the Colberts[74] who lead the largest party, say that they desire peace themselves, but that it is Piomingo who is the cause of the trouble and that they will see that he returns all he owes us, hoping for peace as you can well see.

Since the Chickasaws have found out that the Creeks have come in a considerable party to them, and that the governor has made them give up their attacks in order to offer peace, Ogoulayacabe and the others say that they owe the governor their life, for if the 800 Creeks had returned to attack the Chickasaws they would have destroyed everything since there were not a hundred men in the nation at the time. All the others had gone with Piomingo to get 1100 bushels of corn which the Americans had taken to Chickasaw Bluffs. Today Ogoulayacabe is extremely fond of us and says that all the talks that he is full of since he saw you he is going to bring to light and enlighten his nation which has been betrayed by Piomingo; that he sees clearly that the corn the Americans sent was nothing more than bait to get them to listen to talks; that they had promised larger presents than before to get them to allow trading posts to be established so that presents could be brought up to Bear Creek on the Cherokee River[75] for the other nations; and to get permission to build a fort to protect them, but to this he will never consent. He says that they urge that war be continued against the Creeks and Cherokees, but that he sees clearly that this would rather be against the Chickasaws themselves and that he will take care to get the support of his Nation, and for this reason will profit by Piomingo's absence to prepare the people not to consent to the latter's propositions to continue the war, and that he is waiting for Piomingo's return to talk plainly to him, and that Mongoulachamingo and the Colberts are going to do the same and urge him to go to the Assembly at the Ball Ground, and try to prove to him that the Americans are deceiving the Chickasaws and convince him that he should abandon the Americans and receive the talk of the Spaniards who are sincere friends. It is reported that the boat which brought the corn carried a swivel-gun for Piomingo and three guns for other chiefs.

A letter has just arrived from Panton to Ben James asking him to convoke an assembly in the village of Franchimastabe[76] and talk to the Choctaws in the

[74] George and William Colbert, two of the eleven mestizo sons of James Colbert. Guy B. Braden, "The Colberts and the Chickasaw Nation," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XVII (September, December, 1958), 222-49, 318-35.

[75] The Tennessee River.

[76] Benjamin James was a trader in the Choctaw Nation who frequently acted as an interpreter for the Spaniards. See *Publications*, No. 25 (1953), 79n. Franchimastabe was a Choctaw chief.

name of Mad Dog, principal Chief of the Creeks who wants to renew the peace with the Choctaws, and wants the latter to send some chiefs of their nation to propose peace to the Chickasaws. We had that assembly on the 22nd at the village of Yazoo and all the chiefs consented to our demand. It was decided that Ben James, who was charged by Panton to go to the Chickasaws about their affairs, should depart with their two chiefs to talk to the Chickasaws and persuade them to make peace and bring them to the Choctaws as soon as possible, and to act in such a way that Piomingo will also come. It was also decided that Taboka[77] should leave the same day for the Creeks and get them to come with him to the Choctaws to treat about peace and the matter of going together to the Assembly at the Ball Ground on the Yazoo River, which I believe we will have no difficulty in obtaining because of the good will of the two parties and that of the two Creek envoys, and we hope to do as well among the Chickasaws. We have only to convince Piomingo, who, as has been said, is very stubborn, and who told the people before he left not to receive any peace talk during his absence.

We have not been able to set a shorter period than 28 to 30 nights for the Choctaws to assemble, reckoning from the 22 of May, the day of the assembly for the peace treaty; this leaves us only seven days, which is very little for covering 100 leagues, and a couple of days are still necessary to talk to the nation, so you see that without inconvenience even if all goes well the Assembly can be set only on the 6th or 7th of June. If you do not find opportune what I have done, let me know as soon as possible, although I do not see how I could have done otherwise, for the red men do not conduct themselves as one would wish and I realize that the situation is so delicate that there is danger that Piomingo may pull off some of the nonsence of which he is capable.

I am going to find myself very seriously embarrassed for supplies, since there are none in the Nation and I myself am on the point of starvation. I shall be obliged to have some of the beeves killed to feed those people. If you will approve this expenditure, which is useful and necessary under the circumstances, I am sure that you will be pleased with the results. The Choctaws demand that the Assembly be held in a place they call Scito Ayacha which is a little below the Ball Ground because the water is better there, for they fear the fever. After the chiefs had finished talking in the Assembly Taboka pulled out some red beads and took up the war talk against the Osages because the latter have killed some of the Small Party. The beads are from the Arkansaws who have sent a talk asking the Choctaws to go to war with them on the fourth moon. I learned this morning from the Little Chief that Piomingo sent a talk to the Large and Small Parties telling them that they can rest quietly at home this summer, but that at the beginning of autumn the Americans will send for them to give them presents of arms, ammunition and merchandise, and that they will show how the Spaniards are ungrateful to them, and that the Americans will take them under protection. You can imagine what I have told them on that subject in an effort to convince them to the contrary and how this will bring them much evil, and I am going to work to dissuade those chiefs when I meet them and ward off this blow if possible. They also offer an opportunity to go to see Washington.

I have every reason to be satisfied with the white people in the Chickasaw Nation, who have all responded to the attention I have given them, and the said Frazer, who never leaves his place, suggests that when Piomingo returns

[77] Another Choctaw chief.

to invite him to go to the Ball Ground, and has offered to accompany him. Malcolm has gone with Turnbull. I believe the former is too friendly to Piomingo and is two-faced [wears a garment with two seams], but Perry[78] is an excellent man.

The Chickasaws are not angry about the death of the man who was drowned at Natchez, that is to say in the boat, and agree that it was an accident.

I received your communication dated the first of May from Castachas by the hand of Red Shoes, who gave it to me at the Assembly, which I had called together on the Grand Yazoo to ask the Choctaws to mediate between the Chickasaws and the Creeks, in which I succeeded. I found out from them about your letters and I have explained your intentions, since which they have seemed satisfied and have not made any difficulty. Red Shoes has told them also all that you said on the subject when you talked to the Chickasaws; in short, everything possible has been done. Don't be deceived about Piomingo. He has deceived both of us. His intention is not to go to New Orleans. It is as clear as day that he is the one that has done all the evil in the Chickasaws. I shall still beg him as a friend to go to the Assembly, but I fear it will be in vain.

All the parties of the Chickasaws have gone there. Only Piomingo is still at Chickasaw Bluffs. May God will that he do no evil.

You told me to help you in your plans. The service of the king interests me too much not to do this, and I defy anyone to do more than I have done since I have been in this Nation.

The Choctaws have not as yet gone against the Assembly, as they demonstrated after I put to them the question I had prepared. The Chickasaws have presented no obstacle; on the contrary, since Ogoulayacabe has seen the Baron and you he agrees that the assembly is an absolute necessity to their political interests.

I have informed the Choctaws that you do not wish for all to attend the Assembly, but rather request that the principal chiefs of each village, a large and a small medal chief, and a number of captains be the ones to go, but you know the Choctaws, and that they are capable of going 100 leagues merely to get something to eat. We are not their masters; they do whatever they like, always saying yes; and although they always agree to what I tell them, always do as they please.

I am sending you a copy of a treaty which I have passed around among the Choctaws of the Small Party in the name of His Majesty, as a result of which they have granted me the Old Fort Tombigbee with thirty square *arpents* of land and all that the French possessed, and of the most important things they have refused nothing. I have sent the original to the governor general by a courier who left on the 6th of this month from the Choctaws straight for New Orleans so the governor would be able to send as soon as possible the workers and tools necessary to build the fort and the store before too much time elapses.

This is about all the news there is to date . . . .

Boukfouka, May 25, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

P.S. I beg that from now on you will number your letters for I fear that some will be lost. I will number mine and begin with this one. I have written to Don Pedro Olivier by Toboka and have told him to press the people there all he can. Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos of Natchez.

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[78] Frazer and Malcolm have not been identified. Hardy Perry was a Choctaw trader frequently used as an interpreter. *Ibid.*, No. 31, p. 64n.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, MAY 27, 1793[79]

Various Flatboats have just arrived from the Ohio, and from different persons who came in them I have obtained the following news.

Mr. [Glass?], an inhabitant of Kentucky informs me that a few days before or something like a month ago, a number of letters arrived there from Philadelphia asserting that the French had requested the Americans to take part in the present war, but that the latter had refused, saying that it was true that they had made an alliance with their King, but that now they had assassinated him the nation was not known as such, and that consequently they had no desire to treat with them in anyway.

It is also reported that there are fifteen thousand English troops in Canada, which some think are to help the Americans make peace with the Indians, but others think they are only for the defense against the French. It is also said that the inhabitants of Kentucky are very discontented because they believe they are laden with taxes out of proportion to the other states; for which reason many will come down by the next high water to settle in this province.

Don William Minor, who came down from Pennsylvania some forty days ago, confirms the said news about the French, and adds that afterward they demanded to be assisted with food, but the Americans replied that they had flour and other items to sell to anybody who brought money. He also stated that a number of French officials had arrived in America to recruit men, but had been able to enlist only a few Frenchmen who lived in that country. With respect to the English troops in Canada, he had not heard positively that they had arrived there, but only that they were expected, or were on the road, but he knew nothing of their purpose.

He added that the expedition against the Indians was moving on time, that he passed by the General Headquarters at Logstown, a little below Fort Pitt at which is stationed General Wayne who is to take his troops down to Fort Washington and join General Wilkinson,[80] from which he is to lead an army of some five thousand men against the Northern Indians.

Captain West[81] told me that one of his men, which he took on in New Madrid, and who is here now, informed him that there passed by that place two flatboats loaded with corn and trading goods belonging to Mr. Haines[82] of Cumberland, and got a passport to come here, but when the said West passed Chickasaw Bluffs he saw them tied up at the bank where there were many Indians, and that he spoke to them from a distance asking what Cargo they had on board, and from one of the flatboats came the reply that they had tobacco and that soon they would continue the voyage.

The rest of the individuals who came in these boats say the same things with very little variation.

The sloop of Doctor Watters[83] remained at New Madrid taking on a cargo of peltry and other things of the country to come down within six or seven days.

All of which I report to Your Lordship for your intelligence.

May God keep Your Lordship many years, Natchez, May 27, 1793.

Señor Baron de Carondelet. Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

[79] A.G.I.,P.C., 42.

[80] The generals mentioned were Anthony Wayne and James Wilkinson. Fort Washington was at the site of Cincinnati.

[81] Captain of the flatboat.

[82] This refers to John Hinds. For Robertson's report on Hinds (he wrote it) see *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* 2 vols. (Washington, 1832-34), I, 453.

[83] Probably a reference to Dr. Richard Jones Waters's schooner of 55 tons. See Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 126.

THE EDUCATION OF A SOUTHERN MIND:

Extracts from the Diary of John Coffee Williamson, 1860-1861

Edited by Ben Harris McClary

In the growing library of edited diaries, this one might be noteworthy on at least three counts. First, it was written by a young man of the southern middle class, perhaps even lower middle class. Few men of his element chose to leave any record of their daily activities. Second, it is a Rabelaisian, stream-of-consciousness record of events which the diarist considered personally significant. He made no conscious attempt at writing history; thus a national issue may on occasions be subordinated to a love affair of this backwoods Casanova. His experiences as an old-field schoolmaster, told with complete frankness, are an illustrative addition to the history of southern education. Third, from it can be gleaned various factors which acted upon the diarist's mind, preparing him for his swing to the Confederacy. The things he read and the people with whom he associated guided the development of his mind as surely as he directed the mental growth of his young students. For these general reasons and others apparent in the diary, this work is worthy of a place in southern history.

John Coffee Williamson, a fifth-generation American, had an ancestry of sturdy southern pioneers. His father's uncles had distinguished themselves at King's Mountain while his maternal grandfather had fought Red Coats and Red Skins under John Sevier. His childhood filled with tales of the exploits of his forefathers, Williamson's roots were deep in southern soil.

The diarist, born on April 4, 1833, in Forsythe County, Georgia, was taken at a very early age to Murray County, on the Tennessee-Georgia line, where he lived until his sixteenth year. At that time, as the diary tells, John Coffee Williamson, seeking his fortune, went to northwest Arkansas with an uncle, Thomas Williamson.

In 1855, at the age of twenty-two years, he turned eastward, and, with money earned in the Southwest, began school at the Ocoee Male

Academy in Benton, Tennessee, approximately twenty miles north of his Georgia home. Except for a short time while he was hauling copper from Polk County's Ducktown District to the railroad at Cleveland, Tennessee, he studied at the Academy until July, 1859.[1] In that month he contracted to teach school at Old Fort, a community on the Federal Road below Benton, planning to finance his law education in that way. He was still teaching in that place when the excerpts given here begin on November 6, 1860. His studies in law, begun in 1859, were being completed as this diary ends. On February 25, 1861, he passed the bar examination and went to Benton for a short stay before entering the Confederate army.

Why did he join the Southern Cause? We can understand his action by remembering his southern background and by noticing some of the factors acting upon him in 1860 and 1861. Earlier, in diary entries not included here, Williamson made it plain that he was an American, but by December, 1860, he was not so sure about his loyalties. By January, 1861, he called southern Unionists "Submissionists," and by spring of that year his actions indicated that his life was in the hands of the South, for he was a willing member of its army. Extensive economic interests certainly did not motivate his new southern patriotism. The slave question did not seem to disturb him a great deal. Perhaps the answer lies in the breakdown of his ties with the people of the North. Since he was a member of no church, his only real connection with the North had been his political loyalty, and when the Democratic party split, the last link connecting him with that portion of the United States was cut. With nothing in the North to call forth any special allegiance from him, he and hundreds like him were fair game for the insidious propaganda of the fire-eaters. Having no reason to believe the best, he did not bother to question the worst.

Thus Williamson read regularly the Cleveland *Banner;* biased

[1] When John Coffee Williamson came to Benton in September, 1858, he began a diary which eventually filled four leather-bound volumes, approximately four-by-seven inches in size, now in the possession of the Rev. Mr. J. C. Williamson, Dalton, Georgia. In 1957 the present writer edited the complete diary, entitled " 'Fun, Fact and Philosophy': The Diary of John Coffee Williamson, 1858-1861," as a master of arts thesis at the University of Tennessee. The early parts of the diary provide an excellent picture of the educational processes in a classical male academy and of the social life of the students. From August, 1859, to November, 1860, the diarist did not make daily entries; instead, at the end of that period, he made a general summary covering his activities. On November 6, 1860, the date on which these excerpts begin, he resumed his custom of making daily notations.

beyond the point of credibility, it was nevertheless his chief source of information. And he read the rabidly pro-southern New York *Weekly Day-Book* and the New York *Herald.* His reasoning might have been that if *two* northern publications such as these even partially verified the assertions of the *Banner,* the validity of the statements in that paper could not be doubted. Further, he read the speeches of W. L. Yancey, Joseph E. Brown, and T. R. R. Cobb, and he heard from Jefferson Davis that Washington City was a nest of plotting northerners. He knew that Governor Isham G. Harris, whom he admired very much, was extremely suspicious of the North, and locally most of the older men such as John Hoyl and Judge Rowles gave their full support to the Southern Cause. So John Coffee Williamson was prepared for the break which did come.

As chief quartermaster of Company E of the Fifth Tennessee Cavalry, he saw active duty in Tennessee, Georgia, and North Carolina.[2] At the end of the war, he returned to Benton, married Susan Jane Bible, and became one of the Bourbons in post-war East Tennessee politics. In addition to his law practice, from 1870 to 1879 he was circuit court clerk for Polk County. In 1893 he became United States commissioner for lower East Tennessee, a position which he held until he died on December 19, 1898.

The diarist's spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are preserved as he wrote them originally with only minor editorial aids to facilitate reading. Usually a misspelled word is corrected in brackets or indicated by the use of [*sic*] after its initial appearance in the diary text.

That these notes are only small extracts from larger diary notations should be stressed. Ellipses are not used because, properly placed, they would make the text given here a flash of dots, which would be not a little disconcerting to the reader. Generally speaking, the more mundane aspects of Williamson's day-to-day existence are omitted—including daily references to having taught school and/or read law except in instances where they have special meaning. Many interesting items, some dealing with his "skuffles" with the girls, have been cut out because they seemed to contribute little to the main topic of the article.

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[2] During the war years Williamson kept a diary, most of which was lost during that time. A portion, August-November, 1864, he did manage to save, and this was edited by his grandson, the Rev. Mr. J. C. Williamson, as "The Civil War Diary of John Coffee Williamson," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* XV (March, 1956), 61-74.

The diarist's remarks on the following pages were selected because each seemed to reflect his state of mind or to contribute something to the "southern education" of its author.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF JOHN COFFEE WILLIAMSON 1860-1861

Nov 6 1860 [Old Fort, Tenn.] I went to the Presidential election, but the Judges of the election would not let me vote, because I had gone to Cleveland and remained a while and then come back. If I had wanted to vote for Bell it would have been all right with them but as I wanted to vote for Breakenridge [Breckinridge] my vote was illegal.[3] Such is the Wickedness of man

Nov. 11 1860 [Sunday] I have read some Law[4] in the morning. I borrowed Bascomb's [*sic*] Sermons[5] and read some of them. News has come that Gov. Wise has been assinated [*sic*] and that New York has been burned.[6] Times are squally.

Nov. 12 1860 I have read the Banner and Visitor.[7]

Nov. 13 1860 Lincoln is elected and the people are all expecting Civil War. The women and children are afraid of the negroes.[8]

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[3] In the spring of 1860, his school at Old Fort completed for the time being, Williamson removed to Cleveland to do some residence work in the office of John B. Hoyl, under whom he was reading law.

With the Democratic party split by the conventions of that year, Stephen A. Douglas, the candidate of the northern faction, was not even to be considered by Williamson. For him, as for Tennessee and the border states as a whole, the contest was between John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and John Bell of Tennessee. Breckinridge, a strong believer in slavery and the right of secession, was the candidate of the Southern Democrats; Bell represented the hopes of the newly formed Constitutional Union party, made up of remnants of the defunct Whig party and other conservative elements. Its platform, ambiguously phrased, advocated "The Constitution of the Country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of laws." The slavery issue was ignored in the call for union. When the election was over, Bell had taken Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia, but Breckinridge carried the South. See Marguerite B. Hamer, "The Presidential Campaign of 1860 in Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 3 (1931), 3-22.

[4] According to previous entries, the diarist had studied Joseph Chitty's *Contracts,* James Kent's *Commentaries on American Law,* Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries,* Selwyn's *Abridgement of the Law of Nisi Pruis,* and Joseph Story's works, chief among them his *Commentaries on the Conflicts of Law.*

[5] *Bascom's Sermons,* published in two volumes in 1849, were part of the campaign of eccentric and bombastic Henry Bidleman Bascom, an itinerant Methodist minister, to show that slavery was approved by God.

[6] These are typical of the rumors which were rampant in the area. Henry Wise, the governor of Virginia, advocated immediate secession from the Union when it became apparent that Lincoln had been elected. He was not assassinated, however, as the diarist later points out. Henry T. Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861* (Richmond, 1934), 122.

[7] The Cleveland *Banner* was edited by Robert McNelly. The man and his paper were uncompromisingly Democratic, and he was one of the leaders of that party in East Tennessee. In a mock announcement of the "Funeral of E. Tennessee Democracy," *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig* (August 13, 1859) McNelly was given more space than any other single Democrat. Writing about McNelly's connection with the war, J. S. Hurlburt declared: "The editor . . . did more than any other one man of his intellectual calibre to keep alive the rebellion and to fan the fires of persecution in Bradley county." *History of the Rebellion in Bradley County, East Tennessee* (Indianapolis, 1866), 143-44. The "scare stories" of the *Banner* were undoubtedly often the source of some of Williamson's wildly erroneous statements. *The Visitor,* later called the *Sunday School Visitor,* was an organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

[8] According to the published census reports of 1860, there were 434 Negro slaves and 31 free Negroes in Polk County. There were 8,228 white citizens.

Nov. 14 1860 Some of my students have no shoes. We have no deffinite [*sic*] news from the election, but it is given up by all that Lincoln is elected

Nov. 15 1860 [I received] the news, that Gov. Wise was not killed as reported. I attended the [prayer] meeting to night. I never in all my life seen such a meeting before. All of the women shouted and many of the little Girls and boys got religion which they will beyond a doubt keep until they get home.

Nov. 16 1860 I learned that South Carolina had ceceded [seceded] and declared herself independent.[9]

Nov. 17th 1860 I heard that Buchannan [President James Buchanan] had stationed Ten Thousand Soldiers in Charl[e]ston South Carolina.[10] A Civil War is looked for.

Nov. 20 1860 [Tuesday] I learned that there is great excitement, in all the extreme Southern States about the election of Lincoln. They say that Han[n]ibal Hamlin[11] is part negro, and they will not stand it. The people here are all for the Union. I am satisfied anyway I have no riches.

Nov. 21th 1860 There was a squall of snow this morning The first I have seen this season. I had some planks nailed on the school House. I got the Clev[e]land Banner and have read of all the troubles of our people; particularly the South. I see that horses are dieing [dying] fast.[12] South Carolina will be sure to go out of the Union.

Nov. 22 1860 I am reading the 3rd volume of Greenleaf on evidence.[13] I have a good school and I am getting along very well with the boys. They come very late but it suits me all right for I put in the time reading Law.

Nov. 23 1860 I have had a full school and a cold time around the old stove. I talked with Brown[14] awhile to day about the dis[s]olution of the Union. John Hannah[15] has gone to Charlston to day to make a contract about supplying the army with provisions At night I shaved and fixed to go to Clevland to morrow where I can get all the news.

Nov. 24 1860 I awoke and found some snow on the ground but the air was not very cold. Higgins, his wife,[16] and myself started for Clevland at 8 oclock A.M. When we got on the road We found it very cold, and we had to walk most of the way to keep warm. I saw the wind blow a woman's hoops almost over her head. I recited a Law lesson and returned home by dark. While

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[9] Another wild rumor. South Carolina did not secede until December 20.

[10] An incredible tale! In April, 1861, when Fort Sumter was bombarded by Southern forces, the United States Army's total strength was only slightly more than 16,000 men. James Truslow Adams (ed.), *Dictionary of American History,* 5 vols. and index, rev. ed. New York, 1940), I, 111. No more than the usual functionary force was maintained in the United States forts in Charleston Harbor, and President Buchanan fearfully refused to reinforce them. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln,* 2 vols. (New York, 1950), II, 347-51.

[11] Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was Lincoln's Vice President during his first term. Formerly a Democrat, in 1856 Hamlin gave up his allegiance to that group because of his anti-slavery views and became an avid Republican. Rumors that he was part Negro were widely and effectively circulated in the South, but in reality there was no suggestion of Negro blood in his ancestry. William A. Robinson, "Hannibal Hamlin," *Dictionary of American Biography,* 22 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1958), VIII, 196-98.

[12] It is later shown that an epidemic was killing much of the livestock in the area.

[13] Simon Greenleaf's *A Treatise on the Law of Evidence.*

[14] Riley Brown, aged 36, shoemaker. United States, Eighth Census (1860), Original Schedules, Population, Tennessee, Polk County, Fourth District, 71. Hereafter cited as Eighth Census, Pop., Tenn.

[15] John F. Hannah, aged 64, a well-to-do farmer. *Ibid.,* Third Dist., 50.

[16] Ananias Higgins, aged 38; Eleanor Summy Higgins, his wife. *Ibid.,* Fourth Dist., 71. Williamson boarded with the Higginses when he was at Old Fort.

in Cleveland I got to see Miss Eliza Wood.[17] She is as pretty as a girl can be. I bowed to her as she passed by. I found the people all cool on politics. The Southern States are all holding conventions to consider about going out of the Union. Tennessee will be apt to remain in the Union. I fear not.

Nov. 25 1860 [Sunday] Brown came over, and I read Yanc[e]y's[18] speech to him. He said there was nothing wrong in the speech. I saw that Underwood's[19] Mare had the blind staggers. They were pouring water on her head.

Nov. 26 1860 I am reading Law The Pleadings of Mr. Chitty.[20]

Nov. 28 1860 The boys barred up the door [to the schoolhouse] and would not let me in. I was a little vexed at them, but I went away and they opened the door.

Nov. 29 1860 The boys put a lock on the school house door and I took the axe and prized out the steeple and went in. I was mad enough at the boys to have whipped them, but did not. I got Brown's message and a paper from N. Y.[21]

Dec. 2nd 1860 [Sunday] In the afternoon I wrote a letter to Virgil Parks,[22] and in it, I opposed the Southern secession movement.

Dec. 3rd 1860 Eleven years ago to day (Dec. 3—1849) I crossed the Mississippi River at Memphis on my way to North Western Arkansas. I learned that Bob Askins, Bill Waters, and John Samples[23] had barred up the School House door yesterday. I got Smithermans boys[24] to go and unbar it. They crawled under the floor and took the benches away [from the door]. I whipped the boy's [.....] for that and other things. I saw Clayton[25] and heard him talk. He was in the Creek War, under Gen. Jackson. I read a piece in Brownlows paper.[26] It was Bruchhannon's [Buchanan's] message. I have heard to day that there is an army of abolitionists marching from Kansas to Missouri to free the negroes. This army is commanded by Gen. Montgomery.[27] I hear that he has taken two of the U. S. Forts, and that seven hundred men from Mo. have marched to meet him. great trouble is looked for.

Dec. 4 1860 This morning I got up at 4 oclock and read Law until 8 oclock. Then took up school and taught until 4 P.M. My chalk gave out and I

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[17] Lisa Wood, 22, schoolteacher. *Ibid.,* Bradley, Sixth Dist., 10.

[18] William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama was called "the orator of secession."

[19] John Underwood, 50, farmer. *Ibid.,* Tenth Dist., 139.

[20] Joseph Chitty's *Precedents in Pleading.*

[21] Probably the reference here is to the message of Governor Joseph E. Brown to the Georgia legislature defending that state's right to secede.

The "paper from N. Y." was most likely the New York *Weekly Day-Book,* mentioned occasionally later. This paper was founded to promote the pro-slavery cause among the commercial interests in New York and ultimately enjoyed a wide circulation in the South. Its editor was the notorious Negrophobe, Dr. John Van Evrie. The *Day-Book* lost its mailing privileges in August, 1861, and promptly changed its name to the *Caucasian.* Using that title, it carried on a sort of underground war against the Negro until it was discontinued altogether in 1868. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism,* rev. ed. (New York, 1950), 354; Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln,* II, 337.

[22] Virgil A. S. Parks, a former schoolmate of Williamson, was at this time living in Sparta, Georgia.

[23] All in the vicinity of ten years of age, these boys were respectively the sons of John Askins, John Waters, and Sam Samples. See Eighth Census, Pop., Tenn., Polk County, Fourth Dist.

[24] Andrew and McNair (?) Smitherman, 12 and 8, the sons of Jesse Smitherman. *Ibid.,* 71.

[25] Elijah Clayton, 65, Baptist minister. *Ibid.,* Ninth Dist., 179.

[26] *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig.*

[27] Montgomery could not be located in any available sources. It appears that he might have been a part of the *Banner's* campaign to win southern minds to its cause.

did not hear but one class in Arithmetic. I have heard nothing more of our national troubles. At night I got the Cleveland Banner and learned that the Abolitionists had made a raid on the South western part of Mo. The desperadoes are all well armed with the best arms of the day. they number about 300 and are well supplied with money from the east. They are commanded by Capt. Montgomery. He is a bad man. I now believe that the Union is gone, and that through the remainder of my life we will have Civil War.

Dec. 6th 1860 Brown went to Cleveland and brought the Banner. I read the Banner before I went to bed.

Old Fort—Dec. 7—1860 I taught school and we had cross spelling and I read some Law. Collins[28] asked me to a corn husking I did not go. I have quit going to cornhuskins I have quit chewing tobacco.[29] My school thinks there are three weeks of school, when there are only two. Cal Samples[30] got the credit mark to day. she now has eight. she will get the book.[31]

Dec. 8th 1860 I read Law, until I got tired, and then I read McGuff[e]ys reader,[32] and the Banner. A large drove of beef cattle passed on going to Charlston South Carolina to feed the soldiers. I went to Putmans to see Eliza[33] and found her at home, and as good a friend as ever. I sat up with her and kissed and hughed [*sic*] her as long as I wished to. She is a good and virt[u]ous girl and I would love to marry her; but am too poor.

Old Fort Dec 11—1860 Mrs. Higgins came into my room this morning and told me that I had better treat the school children that the children and their parents were expecting it.[34] I went to the school room, and sent Tom Elliot[35] off and got one and one half bushels of Apples and gave them as many as they could eat.

Old Fort—Dec. 12—1860 I have taught school and read Law to day. I am thinking about a location [to settle and practice law] and a library. I have not got the money to buy books. I am very poor. When I get through the Law I will not have any money. I will have to manage well or I will not succeed.

Old Fort Tenn. Dec. 13—1860 I am not doing much teaching to day. I have treated them to 75c worth of apples and I will make it up in laziness G. W. Clemmer was ducked twice last week. They wanted [him] to treat to a stew, and he would not do it. He did right.

Old Fort, Tenn. Dec. 14—1860 I had a cross spelling match. Tedford[36] has lost a fine colt. worth $100.00 many horses are dieing [*sic*] of the blind staggers. Bleeding is said to be a good remedy—in the neck and boring in the nose.

Old Fort, Tenn. Dec. 15—1860 I read Law, and wrote a small communication for the New York day book, which I concluded not to send. Higgins bled all of his horses and colts. He is afraid of the Blindstaggers they are all for secession in Georgia, and are wearing the white plume in the city. *Our*

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[28] C. M. Collins, 35. Eighth Census, Pop., Tenn., Polk, Fourth Dist., 82.

[29] See January 1, 1861.

[30] Caroline Samples, 8, daughter of Sam Samples. *Ibid.*, 71.

[31] Apparently a prize which Williamson was offering to his best student.

[32] William Holmes McGuffey's series of *Readers,* appearing first in 1836, were nationally popular throughout the last half of the nineteenth century.

[33] Nancy E. Putman, 21, the daughter of Anderson Putman. *Ibid.*, 64.

[34] Toward the end of each term, the time-honored custom of "treating" the students was mandatory. Apples or chunks of sugar were the usual treats; sometimes demanding students expected more. See December 13.

[35] Thomas Elliot, 16. *Ibid.*, 65.

[36] J. H. Tedford, 59, farmer. *Ibid.*, 76.

Union is gone I got the Banner and learned all the news. The Presidents Message[37] is in the Banner.

Dec. 17—1860 [Monday] I met my school at 9 oclock. I had a fuller school than I have had for weeks. I whip[p]ed Bill Waters for going to Browns and having a fight with Bill Brown and saucing Mr. Brown. I arranged a list of speeches for the last day and find I have ten. Higgins returned from Benton and reports ever thing [everything] all right. He brought the New York Daybook with him. I have concluded to take it next year.[38]

Old Fort Tenn. Dec. 18—1860 This is said to be the last day of the Union. To day South Carolina goes out of the Union,[39] and then Civil War shall arise and then bloodshed and carnage the remainder of the time I have to remain on earth—I have outlived my Country. I have read a little Law and taught school.

Dec. 20th 1860 tomorrow is the last day, and I am spurring the boys and Girls up all that I can. I am rejoiced to know that I will soon be able to return to the study of Law. When I leave here I will have about $50.00 and that will pay my board for about 5 months.

Old Fort Tenn. Dec. 21—1860 This is the last day of my school After 12 I had an examination of the students in the spelling book and arithmetic. I had a walk with Miss Lizzie Putman. She loves me. I have taught school at this place 120 days and have not lost a single day. I have had good luck with my school and have prospered with the girls.[40]

. . . . . .

Dec. 31 1860 [Murray County, Ga.] I awoke and found the deepest snow on the ground I ever saw. There is great excitement about secession. Georgia will go out of the Union.[41]

January 1t 1861 I came from Fathers[42] to the old Fort. I bought some paper and Tobacco. I have a bad cold and a bad pair of boots. Brown promised to mend them for me. South Carolina is out of the Union I now look for Civil War and hard times

January 2nd 1860 [*sic*] I arose and went over to Browns to get my boots fixed Brown had gone to Milburns[43] to bleed a fellow. I read the speech of T. R. R. Cobb.[44]

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[37] President Buchanan's "Fourth Annual Message," in James D. Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* 11 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1897-1909), V, 626-53. Secession, declared Buchanan, might be unconstitutional, but there was no power to compel a state to remain in the Union. Thus both northerners and southerners found the message irritating.

[38] The *Day-Book* sold regularly for $3.00 a year. At this time, a special offer was being made to clergymen and teachers, $1.00 per annum. Clearly the editor was attempting to gain a hold on the minds of the people.

[39] Not until December 20 did South Carolina officially secede from the Union.

[40] On December 22 Williamson left Old Fort, going first to Cleveland and then to Benton, where he spent the Christmas holidays, attending parties and noticing the local belles—especially Susan Jane Bible. On December 27 it appears that he visited what the trustees of the Ocoee Male Academy called a "bawdy house." National troubles were forgotten during this period; at least, he made no mention of them. On December 30 he went to Murray County, Georgia, to visit his family, and he was awakened again to the problems of his country.

[41] Citizens of Georgia would on January 2 vote for delegates who would two weeks later meet in Milledgeville to decide if that state would remain in the Union.

[42] William Williamson, IV. Listed in Eighth Census, Pop., Ga., Murray County, 1011 Dist., G. M., 124.

[43] Probably J. L. Milburn's. Professor Milburn was in charge of the Ocoee Male Academy and its students. *Ibid.,* Tenn., Polk County, Second Dist., 19.

[44] Almost certainly Georgian Cobb's speech of November 12, 1860. Of this, Alexander

Jan. 3rd 1861 I went over to Brown's shop and while I was there [saw] the New York daybook from which I learned that South Carolina had suceded [*sic*] on the 20th of Dec. 1860.[45] In the evening Just before sundown the Earth quaked a long time—some part of the world has sunk. I was sick I took some pills went to bed and slept soundly

Jan. 6th 1861 [Sunday] I talked with Eliza Putman and gave her the parting kiss this morning A South Carolinian stopped at Higgins and stayed all night. South Carolina is out of the Union, and Fort Moulty [Moultrie] is taken.[46] times look dark.

Jan 7—1861 Higgins and I left in a hard rain for Cleveland. I got wet, but the rain stopped before we got to Town. I took dinner with John B. Hoyl, and then made arrangements with Mr. Horton[47] to board with him for $10.00 per month. I then read some Law, and went to supper. I found I had located among good people.

Jan. 8th 1861 I have been in court all day and have heard several cases tried. I hear that Andrew Johnson is to be burnt in effigy to night in Knoxville.[48] All hopes of the Union is gone. Squally times.

January 11t 1861 I sat about the Court House all day. I learned South Carolinians had fired into a ship that had attempted to go into fort Sumpter [*sic*][49]

Clevland Jan 12—1861 I have the headache. It is generally given up that we will have civil war. I went to Dr. Mahonies,[50] and got a dose of medicine. At night I attended a lecture given by a phrenologist.

Clevland Jan. 13—1861 [Sunday] I got a little sick from having taken some medicine. I went to Sunday School and saw Miss Eliza Wood. I love her

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H. Stephens said: "The truth is, in my judgement, the wavering scale in Georgia was turned by a sentiment, the key-note to which was given in the words—'We can make better terms out of the Union than in it.' It was Mr. Thomas R. R. Cobb who gave utterance to this key-note, in his speech before the Legislature. . . . This one idea did more, in my opinion, in carrying the State out, than all the arguments and eloquence of all others combined." *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States: Its Causes, Character, Conduct and Results,* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1868-1870), II, 321.

[45] New York *Weekly Day-Book,* December 29, 1860, carried these headlines: "Dissolution of the Union! SECESSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA!!" and "Manifesto of the President Elect—South Carolina to be Coerced!" Glowing terms were used to picture the spirit of the South which was marred only by "an unfounded rumor of a threatened negro insurrection" in Richmond.

[46] In Charleston Harbor stood three United States forts: Castle Pinckney, Fort Moultrie, and Fort Sumter. With the secession of South Carolina, the position of the Union troops in these forts became precarious indeed. So, on December 26 the commander, Major Robert Anderson, evacuated Pinckney and Moultrie and grouped his men in Fort Sumter, the best located of the three. The next day the South Carolinians occupied the evacuated forts. This, though probably quite different from the *Banner's* version, was how Fort Moultrie was "taken." Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln,* II, 367-68.

[47] J. M. Horton, 24, merchant. Eighth Census, Pop., Tenn., Bradley County, Thirteenth Dist., 3.

[48] Andrew Johnson declared himself for the Union on December 18, 1860, and when other southern senators withdrew, he remained alone. To the fire-eaters and in fact to most of the South he became a traitor. He was burned in effigy in Memphis, Lynchburg, and Nashville, but Union men prevented this from happening in Knoxville. Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson: Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, 1928), 170.

[49] Buchanan had at last decided to reinforce the United States forces in Charleston Harbor, and on January 5 the steamer *Star of the West,* carrying two hundred well-trained troops, sailed for South Carolina. When the ship arrived on January 9, it was fired upon by the Southern forces and driven away. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln,* II, 379-80.

[50] James Mahoney, 26, "Reformed Physician." *Ibid.,* Sixth Dist., 5. For a statement of his medical belief see his professional advertisement which first appeared in the *Banner* on February 3, 1860. He practiced the "Botanic System" which stressed the use of herbiferous medicines.

as well as ever. She is not pretty. The Rail Road has taken off the accomodation train. Our Legislature met and the Governor recom[m]ends the calling of a Convention.[51]

Clevland Jan. 14—1861 I sat around the bar all day and listened to a case that was being tried, involving all the principals [principles] of the School Law. I heard a dog lawsuit tried, a verdict of ten cents was awarded for killing the dog. Hoyl was mad because he lost the dog case, by negligence by not putting in the right plea.

Cleveland Jand. 16th 1861 I read law to day. after dinner I went down to see the Phrenologist, and acted the fool, and got him to examine my head and paid him five dollars for it. I am dertermined [*sic*] to be more saving with my money after this, and this is the last Phrenologist I am going to run after. I have now paid several dollars to rascals and I will do so no more. He said that I should marry a woman with dark hair, large eyes, and full deep chest, that I would make a good Lawyer or Politician or a Doctor. That I was eloquent when excited and was liable to diseases of the kidneys, brain and rheumatism. That I was a skeptic in religion to some extent. I went and heard him lecture at night, and tore my coat.

Clevland January 17th 1861 I have read Law in the office. A man was put in jail for stealing $1 worth of coffee at Tibbs.[52] The Legislature has called a convention to go out of the Union.[53] I went to Burkets[54] room and read Blackstone with him.

Clevland Jan. 19—1861 I got up soon and read Law with Burket until breakfast. I then came to the office and read all day. people are excited about disunion.

Clevland Jan. 20—1861 [Sunday] I went to church and heard Hiram Douglass[55] preach. He preached a political sermon. he bemeaned the northern preacher and politicians generally. It was the first political sermon that I ever heard. In the evening I went to Church and heard Douglass preach again.

Clevland Jan. 21—1861 I have read Law. I have some symptoms of rheumatism in my hips and knee. I went to the Masonic Hall and attended Lodge. Burkett was in a bad humor with Hortons Clerk about some eggs.

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[51] Governor Harris had called a special session of the Tennessee legislature to meet on January 7 to consider the position which Tennessee would take in the national crisis. He sent to the assembly a message proposing that they submit to the people the question of Tennessee's future, confidently concluding that the state would join the Southern Confederacy. Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee: A History,* 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 527-29.

[52] William Tibb, 34, merchant. Eighth Census, Pop., Tenn., Bradley County, Fifth Dist., 69.

[53] This was far from the truth. The act providing for an election on February 9 in which voters would cast ballots for or against the holding of a state convention to consider secession was passed officially on January 19. In that election, the convention was defeated by a majority of 88,803 to 24,749, the greatest Union support coming from East Tennessee. The secessionists, however, did not weaken. After Fort Sumter was fired upon, the legislature was again called into special session and this time drew up an ordinance of separation which was submitted to the people in an election on June 8. It was approved by a vote of 108,399 to 47,233. Of those votes cast against separation, 33,000 were from East Tennessee. Tennessee would be the last state to leave the Union, and before that happened Williamson was a member of the Confederate army. Hamer, *Tennessee,* I, 529-51.

[54] Theodore M. Burkett, 21, head of the Oak Grove Male Academy and also a law student in Cleveland. John Morgan Wooten, *A History of Bradley County* (Nashville, 1949), 90-91.

[55] The founder of the Cleveland Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Cleveland, Douglas was a firm champion of the Southern Cause. Hiram Arnett Douglas, "The Story is Told: Rev. Hiram Douglas" (mimeographed copy, Minneapolis, Minn., 1940).

Merchants here are not doing much. They have cried out that the Ocoee Bank would break and have made the people afraid of it. Everybody wants to get rid of their Ocoee Money. *good idea.*[56]

Clevland Jan. 22—1861 I have read Law, but my mind is not clear. I can not keep my mind on the subject. I learn that Georgia Suceded [*sic*] last Saturday, and that last night Dalton was illuminated,[57] and that there was great rejoicing all over Georgia. [Burkett] has lost a book of notes, and many other things. He thinks the negroes stole them.

Clevland Tenn Jan. 23—1861 I have read Law all day at the office, and at night I read Blackstone with Burkett at his rooms. Burkett has lost his shawl. Everbody [*sic*] is quiet with regard to Secession. I do not think that East Tennessee will want to secede. She is Abolitionized.

Clevland Tenn. Jan 24—1861 I read Law, and also the Clevland Banner, and learned that there was nothing of importance going on through the County.

Jan. 25 1861 I went over to the Depot and saw the train come in. Jefferson Davis was on the train, and I saw him. He is a little scrawny man, about 50 years of age.[58]

Clevland Jan. 26—1861. I awoke and found a snow on the ground, about three inches deep. I went to the Court House and heard Judge Rowls[59] make a very good speech. He is in favor of a National Convention—and secession provided Lincoln sends the Army around to fight the South. The Crowd treated Rowls very unmanly, and called him *Secession Rowls.*

Clevland Tenn. Jan. 27—1861 [Sunday] Burkett and I took a walk after which I went to the Presbyterian Church and heard a sermon. After dinner I went to see Miss Eliza Wood and found her at home. I went too early they were eating dinner. I sat and read Dow's Journal[60] till they finished eating. I stayed for supper. I got home at 10 oclock P.M.

Clevland, Tenn. Jan. 28—1861 Burket and I read Blackstone. The men I heard talk to day are for the Union—*Submissionists*

Clevland Tenn. Jan. 29—1861 Everybody that I hear is for the Union. Tennessee will not secede. I read the New York Herald[61] and saw all the girls.

Clevland Tenn. Jan. 30—1861 I have read Law to day Williams on Executors,[62] which I find to be a very hard book. I learned that we will have

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[56] An advertisement in the *Banner* on May 24, 1861, announced that all Tennessee bank notes were redeemable at par except those of the Ocoee Bank in Cleveland which were subject to a twenty-five per cent discount.

[57] Georgia seceded on January 19. "Illumination" was a practice used often during the early days of the war to celebrate Confederate achievements. Hurlburt, *Rebellion in Bradley County,* 144.

[58] Having made his famous withdrawal speech from the Senate on January 21, Jefferson Davis was on his way home to Mississippi. He was approaching 52. For his encounter with a Union man that night in Chattanooga see Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood, *The Chattanooga Country* (New York, 1952), 175.

[59] George Washington Rowles was a leader of the Democratic party in East Tennessee. As a member of the state legislature in 1857, he became involved in a quarrel with T. S. Heiskell and shot off one of Heiskell's thumbs. When Howell Cobb of Georgia resigned as United States treasurer, President Buchanan, following his doughface policy, offered the position to Rowles. He declined the position. Wooten, *Bradley County,* 148.

[60] Lorenzo Dow, *The Deals of God, Man and the Devil; as exemplified in the Life, Experience, and travels of Lorenzo Dow, in a Period of Over Half a Century: Together with his Polemic and Miscellaneous Writings . . .* (New York, 1856). A Methodist evangelist of doubtful sanity, Dow raved against Catholics, Anti-Masons, and Whigs.

[61] Just before the war, the New York *Herald* was outspoken in its sympathy for the Southern Cause. Mott, *American Journalism,* 236.

[62] Edward Vaughn Williams' *Treatise on the Law of Executors and Administrators.*

no secession candidates [for the state convention] in this county. The Legislature has passed the Stay Law, you cannot collect any money for twelve months.[63]

By February 1, 1861, the push was on for Williamson. Preparing for his bar examination scheduled on February 25 and caught up in the whirlwind of the Southern movement, he stopped making his daily notations, and so he quickly fades into the standardized picture of the gallant young southerner riding off to defend the South against northern aggression.

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[63] Taking into consideration the fact that the political crisis had had an unfortunate effect on the financial condition in the state, the legislature gave banks permission to suspend species payments, postponed the collection of delinquent taxes, and deferred collections under court judgments for one year. Hamer, *Tennessee,* I, 530-31.

BLACKSTON McDANNEL TO ANDREW JOHNSON: AN EAST TENNESSEAN IN THE MEXICAN WAR

Edited by
LEROY P. GRAF AND RALPH W. HASKINS

Tennessee's claim to the title of "The Volunteer State," apparently originating in the War of 1812,[1] was further validated by her role in the Mexican War. In response to the federal government's call for 3,000 men, Tennessee immediately responded with nearly 30,000.[2] Yet not all Tennesseans rushed pellmell into volunteering; among those who delayed were Andrew Johnson's close personal and political friends in Greeneville, Samuel Milligan and Blackston McDannel. These men hoped, through the influence of Congressman Johnson, to secure commissions in regiments to be raised in East Tennessee. Johnson, for his part, was very much dissatisfied with the way in which his fellow-Tennessean, President Polk, was handling the patronage, both civil and military. Of the former he remarked, "Take Polk's appointments all and all and they are the most *damnable* set that were even [*sic*] made by any president since the government was organized, out of Tennessee as well as in it."[3] As late as February, 1847, Johnson was attempting to obtain favorable positions for his friends in the new companies about to be raised in East Tennessee.[4] Though Milligan eventually became a captain, McDannel drew only a sergeancy in the commissary department of one of the volunteer companies. While thus serving, he recounted his experiences in several letters to Johnson; only one of these seems to have been preserved and is here printed.

Blackston McDannel (January 15, 1811-July 27, 1888), born and reared in Knoxville,[5] was one of a small number of close friends with

[1] Robert H. White, "'The Volunteer State'," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* XV (March, 1956), 53-56.

[2] Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico,* 2 vols. (New York, 1919), I, 195.

[3] Johnson to [Blackston McDannel?], Washington, July 22, 1846, Johnson Papers, Library of Congress. This and all letters subsequently cited are to be found as paper facsimiles in the files of the Andrew Johnson Project, University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, and have been used in this form by the editors.

[4] Johnson to D. T. Patterson, Washington, February 28, 1847, *ibid.*

[5] Mrs. LeRoy Brown, "Old Greeneville Cemetery," in Jeannette Tillotson Acklen and others (comps.), *Tennessee Records. Tombstone Inscriptions and Manuscripts, Historical and Biographical* (Nashville, 1933), 134; B. McDannel to Johnson, Greeneville, March 15, 1861, Johnson Papers.

whom Johnson felt at ease and with whom he exchanged some of the most revealing letters to be found in the Johnson Papers. Contemporaries described him as "Andy Johnson's only intimate."[6] The Census of 1850 listed a "B. McDaniel" (a common misspelling, even by subsequent Johnson biographers) as a plasterer, with real property to the value of $800. He was a widower with four children, three of whom were in school.[7] It would appear that he did not confine his activities to plastering. Soon after Johnson entered Congress in 1843, McDannel enlisted his aid in presenting and validating a number of pension claims against the government.[8] Even in the months just before the outbreak of the Civil War, he was still bombarding his friend with letters relating to claims.[9] Meanwhile, he seems to have been speculating in land warrants.[10] During the first months of 1861, when Johnson was widely regarded as the chief patronage dispenser of the Lincoln administration in Tennessee,[11] McDannel became a successful candidate for the office of United States marshal for East Tennessee.[12]

The Mexican War years were the occasion for the exchange of several letters between Johnson and "Old Mac." Soon after McDannel and Milligan went off to war, Johnson wrote a long, gossipy letter—[13] a letter which regaled them in lively fashion with news of Greeneville and reflected the warmth of friendship which existed among the three men. Of Greeneville he reported that five schools were operating, wryly remarking "what a place this is becoming to be for literature and profound learning—." That the town also sheltered activities on a somewhat lower cultural level, he made clear.

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[6] Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson, Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, 1928), 17.

[7] United States, Seventh Census (1850), Original Schedules (Microfilm), Population, Tennessee, Greene County, Greeneville, 278.

[8] McDannel to Johnson, Greeneville, December 23, 1844, and Johnson to McDannel, Jonesboro, Tenn., April 6, 1845, Johnson Papers.

[9] McDannel to Johnson, Greeneville, March 26, April 4, May 19, and June 6, 1860, *ibid.*

[10] "I wrote to Bob [Robert Johnson], to enquire the price of Land warrants at Washington and to drop me a line, with a view of disposing of them through him— Please *jog* his memory— I am opposed to the homestead, until I sell off my warrants, and then I dont care a damn.— Will it pass soon?" McDannel to Johnson, Greeneville, June 6, 1860, *ibid.*

[11] J. Milton Henry, "The Revolution in Tennessee, February, 1861, to June, 1861," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* XVIII (June, 1959), 99-119.

[12] McDannel to Johnson, Greeneville, March 15, 1861, Johnson Papers; Winston, *Andrew Johnson,* 187.

[13] Johnson to McDannel, Greeneville, October 19, 1847, Johnson Papers.

> Carter Johnson who you know recently opened a dead fall[14] at the west end of town; was indicted by Williams for trading with his negro[e]s with an infraudulent [*sic*] intent, &c also returned in some two cases by the grand jury,— After these moves were made Carter became alarmed and has fled to parts unknown, perhaps you may meet with him some where in Mexico doing battle in his countries [*sic*] cause—.[15]

Johnson closed the letter in a more serious vein:

> You will both accept assurances of my high esteem and sincere friendship, and further, my most devoute [*sic*] prayer, that the divine arm of a protecting providence may be extended over you, and that the *aegis* of american liberty, be thrown around you, the one to preserve you from the diseas[e] of a destructive climate—the other to shield you from the assaults of a perfidious and dastardly foe—

At the time McDannel wrote the letter which follows, he was stationed with the "army of occupation" in Jalapa, having recently made the trip from Vera Cruz. The bulk of the letter is devoted to a detailed and at times vivid description of the country through which he travelled, and particularly to the exciting events of the American march into the interior of Mexico during the previous year. He was especially interested in the places associated with the Battle of Cerro Gordo, which had taken place April 17-18, 1847. Like so many Americans who took part in the Mexican War, McDannel, impressed by the agricultural possibilities of the country and animated by a feeling of racial condescension, believed that the United States should retain possession. One can also observe in him something of the pedagogue, for he was at pains to provide Johnson with accurate phonetic spellings of Mexican places and terms.

This letter is of interest since relatively few Mexican War letters written by Tennesseans have been printed, and the majority of these are concerned with the actual military campaigns rather than with the "mopping up" operations which accompanied and followed the conflict. Moreover, McDannel was a rather literate enlisted man whose comments reveal both an enthusiasm for colorful military events and an interest in existing local conditions.

Jalapa, Mexico
Jan. 28th 1848

Friend Johnson

A few days ago I wrote you a hasty letter relative to some money, and

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[14] A low drinking or gambling saloon.

[15] Elsewhere in the letter, he assured his friends: "The health of the town is good, Scandal in abundance in al[l] sorts. I presume a fair proportion of whoring is carried on by way of variety &c—"

enclosed it to my wife,[16] with directions for her to send it to you from Green[e]ville provided she failed in getting $100 from Daniel Britton,[17] to whom I had previously written to let her have that amount by way of a loan, as it was impracticable for me to send her any funds from here, and very uncertain from Vera Cruz. If you get that letter I hope you will find it convenient to send her that amount— If she gets the money, from Daniel, she may not send you the letter; but I hope she will, as it contained a short sketch of my late trip from Vera Cruz to the Robbers Bridge Enroute for Jalapa (Ha-lap-a)—I could say no more then as the mail for Vera Cruz would have closed before I could have written what I intend to write now; but I promised to resume my narrative in my next which I now proceed to do. Well, in consequence of the attack made by the Guerrilleras (Gur-ee-yer-rose) upon the rear of the train, we lay at the Robbers Bridge from the evening of the 4th, until the morning of the 6th, inst.— In the meantime several companies of Dragoons and Infantry were sent back from camp, some 12 miles, to bring up the rear, and to pursue and recover the captured property, consisting of 300 Pack mules belonging to Mexican Merchants, with valuable Packs, worth between 2 and 300 thousand Dollars. About midnight of the 5th the last of the discomfitted rear came up and encamped for the night— The night of the 4th, and the whole of the 5th was spent in scouring and reconnoitering the neighboring Heights and adjacent country by numerous detachments of troops, who burned down nearly all the Ranches in the neighborhood, and occupied all the approaches to our camp— It was very evident that Lieut. Col. Miles[18] apprehended a serious attack— But the whole passed off without even seeing an Enemy, save about 300 who captured the mules and put to the route [*sic*] the little command of Lieut. Walker consisting of 45 Dragoons, 3 of whom it is said were killed and 2 or 3 wounded— At the time of the little brush, I was 12 miles in the advance, with the advance guard, and knew nothing of it until after the advance had pitched their tents for the night at the Robbers Bridge— The first news that came from the rear was, that upwards of 50 of our men had been killed, the rest put to flight, and that the Mexicans had captured 900 Pack miles [*sic*]—You may guess what excitement this intelligence created— It would have done you good to see our b'hoys starting from camps with a prospect of a fight before them, with the Guerrilleras, whose numbers were represented to be about 2000.

Well while all this was going on as I have described it, what do you think I was doing? You may perhaps immagine [*sic*] that I was with some of the scouring parties, musket in hand, seeking the Enemy in the thick, thorny chapar[r]al, or standing upon some peak of the surrounding heights, looking cautiously around and into the deep valleys and gorges below for the murdering bands of Mexican Robbers— But in all this you would be very much mistaken—for I was

[16] McDannel's first wife, Elizabeth, born April 9, 1811, died May 22, 1848. It is not clear whether her husband had returned to Greeneville prior to her death. Brown, "Old Greeneville Cemetery," 134. Even before he received this letter, Johnson, in response to the earlier "hasty" letter of January 23 to which McDannel here refers, had paid one hundred dollars to Mrs. McDannel. Johnson to McDannel, Washington, March 24, 1848, Johnson Papers.

[17] According to the census of 1850, Daniel Britton was a fifty-three year-old farmer possessing $2,500 in real property. Compared with other holdings in this rural area, he was relatively prosperous. Seventh Census, Pop., Tenn., Greene, Ninth Div., E. District, 610.

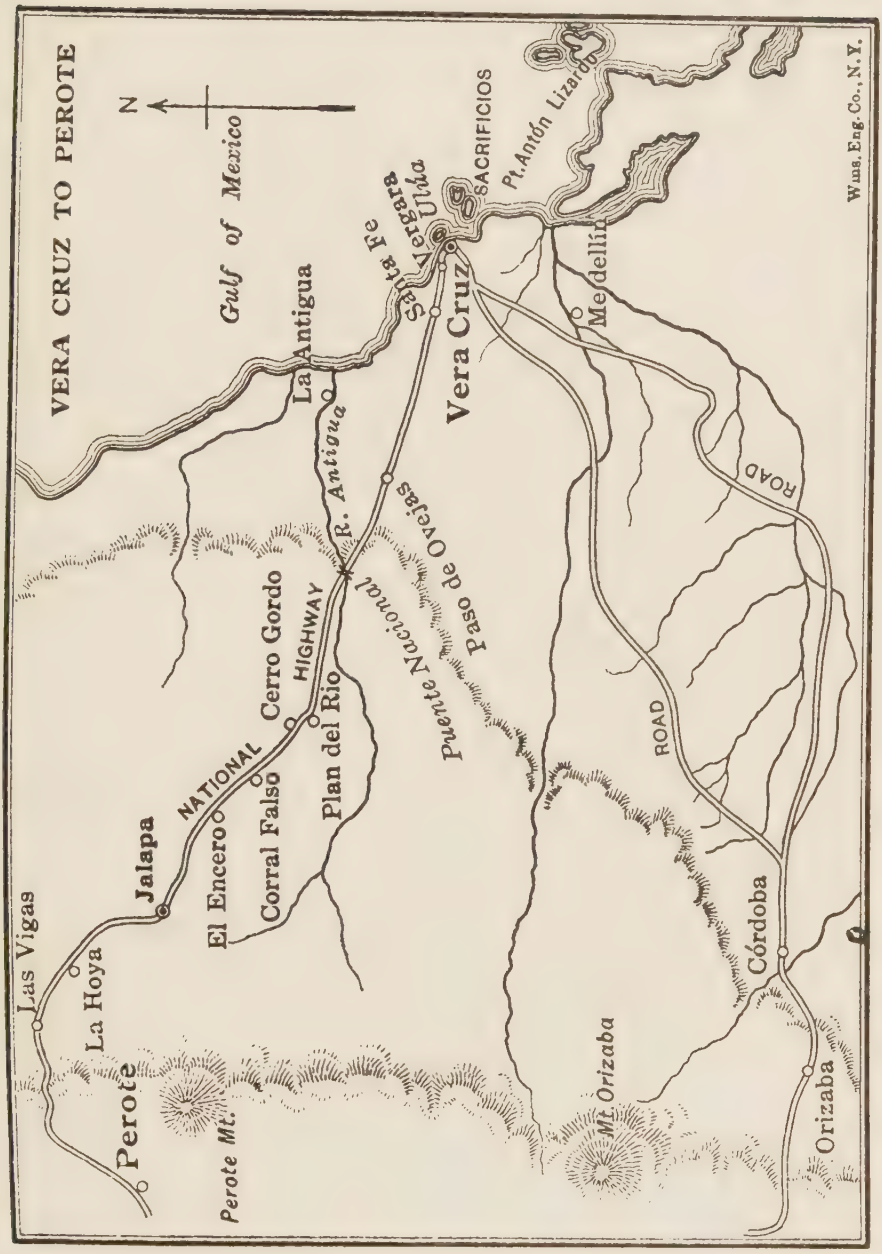
[18] D. H. Miles, as captain of a regiment in the Seventh Infantry, participated in Taylor's early campaigns in the lower Rio Grande. He was the officer who took possession of the town of Camargo in July, 1846, and during the fall of that year rendered signal service in the battle of Monterey. Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of the Mexican War* (Indianapolis, 1950), 147; Smith, *War with Mexico,* I, 209-10, 245.

quietly sitting on the Bank of the little river that flows by our camp with cigar in mouth, and hook and line in hand catchaing [*sic*] a fine mess of catfish and looking at some Mexican women who were bathing in the stream above me. The latter was a delightful *Ass peck* in that dreary region.

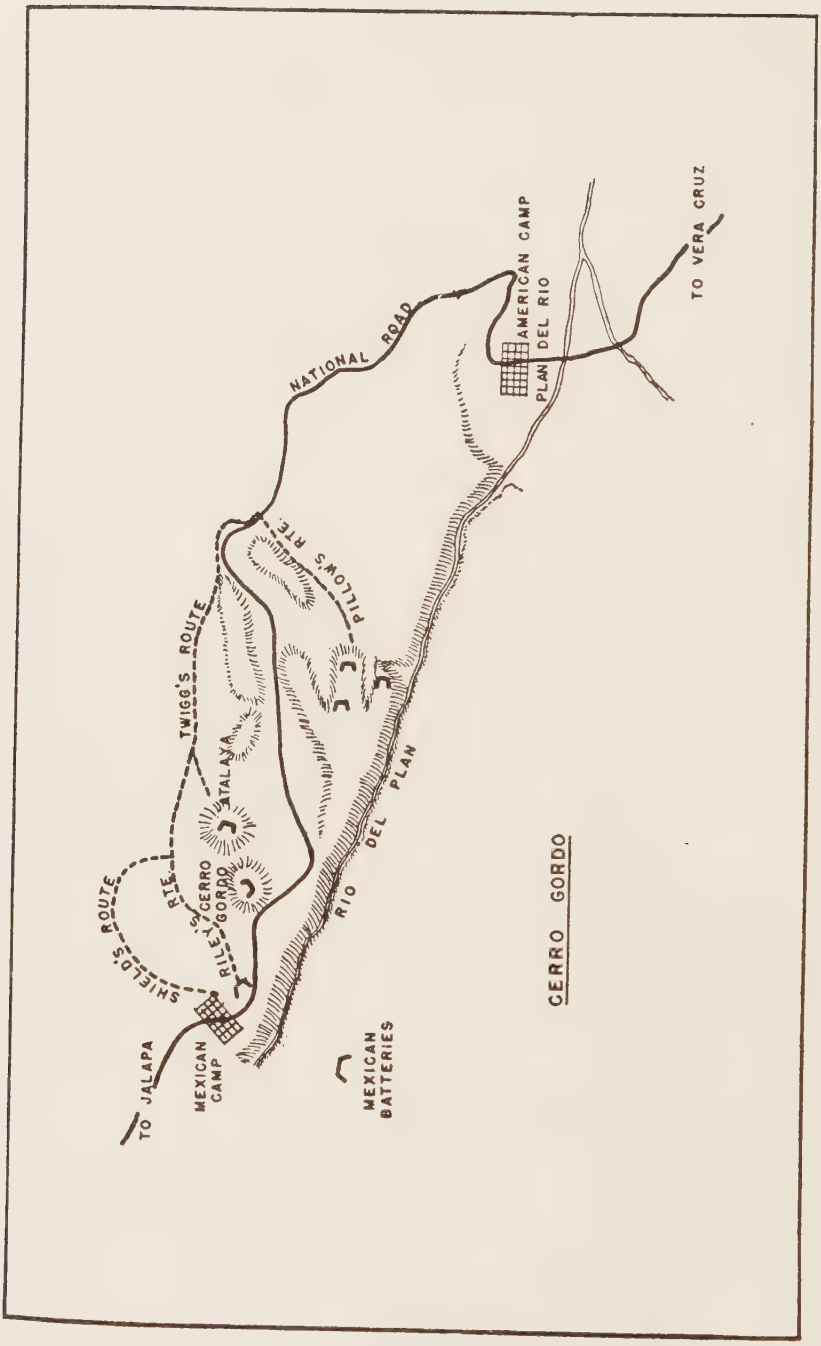
Before day on the morning of the 6th, we paid our respects to our catfish breakfast in the most handsome stile [*sic*], to say nothing of a bottle of good old French brandy that lay in the way, and by sun up we had struck our tents, packed up, and mounted our fine Kentucky Gray's and was upon the great National road, in battle line, for the National Bridge, our third Encampment.—It was a glorious sight to stand upon some lofty eminence over which the road passed, and look to the right and to the left upon a Train 12 miles long, consisting of 5 or 600 Wagons, 900 Pack mules and 1500 armed men with polished Sabers and glittering muskets and Bayonets, all in battle order and ready and eager to meet the Enemy without regard to numbers— Before leaving Vera Cruz, it was reported that 3000 Guerrilleras were waiting for us at the mountain Pass of Plan Del Rio and that in all probability we would have a battle— The attack on the morning of the 4th seemed to strengthen the probabilities of a fight at Plan Del Rio, and as this place was to be our fourth encampment, of course we began to be on the lookout— The advance arrived at the National Bridge about 1 oclock and about 9 in the evening the last of the Rear came up— We found the place occupied by a Battallion [*sic*] of Georgia and other troops— You may be sure I paid particular attention to the localities of this celebrated Pass—[19] I cannot describe it as I wish, but will try to give you a feint [*sic*] idea of this "Gate of the Nation" relying more upon the accompanying Pencil marks, than upon words—Approaching the Pass and fortifications, you descend about one mile from a high, broken, and rocky country covered with Chapar[r]al, down into the Gorge through which the road passes in a Northerly direction— Where the slope terminates, a splendid bridge, supported by 5 arches is thrown across a small stream— farther on and at the butt of a fortified height to the left, commences the great National Bridge thrown over the Antigua River and supported by 7 arches— To the right, before crossing the main Bridge, is the river, which sweeps under the bridge and washes the base of another fortified height on the same side, and runs in a southerly direction first— then uniting with the waters of the small stream first crossed, winds to the left around the Butt of the height to the right and is lost to the view among the thousands of mountain heights to the East— The fortifications on the heights, separated by the road and river, are almost within musket shot of each other, and commands both bridges and the approaches to them from either side, either by the road or over the high lands through the Chapar[r]al— It was from the Heights to the right & left of the Bridges that the Mexicans poured down their murderous fire of musketry upon Maj. Lally's[20] command, last spring, as they were crossing the bridges— Some 80 or 90 fell before the command reached the ascending ground beyond the

[19] A reference to Cerro Gordo, the scene of the battle of the previous year. The accompanying maps show both the route travelled by the Americans and the immediate environs of Cerro Gordo.

[20] F. T. Lally was one of a number of officers engaged in supplying Scott in central Mexico. McDannel is probably referring to the expedition of early August, 1847, when Lally left the coast with more than one thousand soldiers, two 6-pounders, and sixty-four wagons. In the course of the journey to the interior, he suffered nearly one hundred casualties, though he was able to get all of his merchandise through. Appointed from civil life, he was regarded as an ineffectual commander, not only in the field but in maintaining discipline among his troops, so that during the time they were stationed in Jalapa, his men were described as "a scourge." *Ibid.*, II, 171-72, 224, 422.



From Smith, *War With Mexico,* II, 39.



From Henry, *Story of the Mexican War*, 281. Courtesy of Bobbs-Merrill Co.

Bridge, out of the reach of Mexican bullets— Every man at one piece of Artillery was shot down upon the Bridge, save one officer and one private, the latter of whom (an Irishman named Foster) is our cook and tells many thrilling incidents connected with that disaster—both of these brave fellows, stuck to their Gun amid showers of bullets, notwit[h]standing they were severely wounded, and continued loading and firing and retreating until they were out of reach of the Enemies musketry—and in the mean time repelled the attack of 6 Lanceros who came down into the road to take their cannon, 4 of whom they killed, the other two vamosed— Previous to the bloody tragedy, Major Lally with a small Escort rode down into the Pass to reconnoitre, but seeing no sign of an Enemy rode back and ordered his command forward— The Mexicans in the mean time did not show themselves upon the heights until the whole command were upon the Bridges below, when they commenced their murderous fire of musketry into the ranks of our countrymen. 5000 resolute men stationed upon these heights, properly officered and posted, with the necessary fortifications, Guns, Ammunition &c, could defend the Pass against the approaches and attacks of 50000 of the best troops in the world.

Well after crossing the last Bridge we ascended a long sloping hill some 4 or 500 yards to the Hacienda of one Don Antonio Lopez De Santa Anna,[21] and pitched our Tent under its high walls where we spent a pleasant night— It is hardly worth while to describe this mansion.— It is however a splendid concern for this country, situated upon the South side of the road near the summit of the ascent and upon a Bluff overlooking the Antigua which runs directly East until it passes through the arches of the Bridge, when it turns short to the south passing the two bridges, then around the butt of a mountain to the left and Eastward as before described—

Here we received intelligence that 4000 Mexicans were collecting and waiting for the Train at the Pass of Plan Del Rio, our fourth Encampment, where we would certainly have a fight— So great was the apprehension of an attack at that place or at Cerro Gordo 5 miles further on, that an order was issued to arm all who applied for arms— The Maj. had a Six barrelled shooting iron, and a Pen Knife only— I also had a six shooter and *that Knife* (which by the by, felt the heart of at least one mexican before leaving Vera Cruz by a Missi[ssi]ppian to whom I had loaned it on two or three night expeditions after the Guerrilleras in the vicinity of Vera Cruz) Well, in addition to these small arms the Major and myself armed ourselves with a brace of Horseman Pistols each, and a bottle of good *old* whisky to cheer us in the hour of danger, after which we mounted our Grays and pushed ahead until we overtook the advance Guard where we marched until our arrival at the much talked of Plan Del Rio, a similar pass to that of the National Bridge— You may imagine how much *we* were disappointed at not finding 4000 Guerrilleras to receive us at Plan Del Rio—I Shall not attempt to describe my *disappointment.*

Here we soon Pitched our tents and passed a very pleasant night in the midst of dead mens bones and dead Horses. Previous to our arrival at Plan Del Rio and a few miles Eastward of that place, we were met by 3 companies of Dragoons who had been dispatched from this place by Gov. Hughes[22] to our

[21] El Encero was the name of the Mexican leader's hacienda, eight miles below Jalapa and just beyond the pass of Cerro Gordo. *Ibid.,* II, 42.

[22] Colonel George W. Hughes (1806-1870), at this time the governor of Jalapa, after attending West Point, had pursued a career as civil engineer prior to entering the army in 1838. As a member of a troop of Maryland and District of Columbia volunteers, he had been a surveyor on the staff of General John E. Wool in northern Mexico during

assistance, having heard of the attack upon the train between Vera Cruz and Robbers Bridge and the gathering of the Guerrilleras to the number of 4000 in the vicinity of Cerro Gordo— Hughes' plan of surprising the Guerrilleras was admirable— After pushing the three companies of Dragoons by the Cerro Gordo Pass, he posted some 12 or 1500 men on the side of the pass next Jalapa—intending, as Col. Miles advanced from the East, to close in from the west and hem the mexicans in such a manner as to leave no avenue to escape— As to this arrangement and reinforcement, we were all ignorant, except some of the officers; we knew nothing of it, until we passed the memorable spot where Santa Anna lost his wooden Leg—[23] On the morning of the 7th, bright and early, the whole camp was in motion preparing for the days march, and the fight at Cerro Gordo only 5 or 6 miles distant—By Sun up we were on the road that led up the steep side of a Big Ridge and over to Cerro Gordo—leaving behind us the dillapidated [*sic*] Hacienda and Ranches—the blown up bridge and frightful heights and precipices of Plan Del Rio,—in high spirits and ready for any thing that might present itself in the shape of a Mexican— Well, we marched on and on over a fine road and broken ground, and about 9 or 10 oclock entered the deep and narrow gorge of Cerro Gordo with steep and rugged heights on either side, ascending in a straight line about one and a half miles up to the Ditch and fortified works thrown up by Santa Anna last spring, and immediately upon the brow of high bluffs overlooking a broad, deep ravine toward the S. West through which flowed the same river that sweeps by our late encampment at Plan Del Rio—Immediately at the point where the road strikes the ditch, It turns short to the right, running N. West around the base of the main Cerro Gordo height situated on the right of the road East— This celebrated height is higher than all the rest of the heights in the neighborhood, and can be seen many miles as you approach it from Vera Cruz— Its base on the South western side terminates at the Ditch already mentioned—the road up the pass sweeps its base to the south— On the North it terminate[s] on the plain— To the East it is a continuation of high, broken ridges—The whole of these heights on each side of the road was fortified and crowded with from 15 to 20 thousand Mexican troops—It seems impossible that these positions could be

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the first months of the war. After seeing service at Cerro Gordo, he became military governor of the province of Jalapa, in which post he kept in hand the Mexican banditti and maintained iron discipline among his troops, at the same time that he preserved friendly relations with the leading clergy. Hughes believed that Mexico should be kept under the control of the United States and should in the course of time become an outlying province. Subsequently, he resigned from the army, spent some time in surveying a route for a prospective railroad across the Isthmus of Panama, and became president of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad in 1854. From 1859 to 1861, as a member of Congress from Maryland, he advocated the right of secession. Curtis W. Garrison, "George Wurtz Hughes," *Dictionary of American Biography,* 22 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1958), IX, 348-49; Henry, *Mexican War,* 182, 313; Smith, *War with Mexico,* II, 224-25, 230; Captain George W. Hughes, *Memoir . . . of March . . . of General Wool, Senate Ex. Doc.* 32, 31 Cong., 1 Sess.

[23] In the course of the "War of the Pastries" between Mexico and the French fleet attacking Vera Cruz in 1838, Santa Anna received a wound which required the amputation of his leg. After he resumed the presidency, the amputated leg was brought to Mexico City, and, "with vast pomp and ceremony, reinterred . . . in a magnificent mausoleum, specially constructed to receive it." Later, during riots which accompanied his political eclipse, "his amputated leg was torn from its mausoleum and dragged through the streets by the mob. . . ." Henry, *Mexican War,* 102-03. Following the Battle of Cerro Gordo, the Americans counted among the spoils, which included a large amount of ammunition and $11,791.19 in cash, a wooden leg which they presumed to be Santa Anna's artificial appendage. Subsequently, the leg was on display in the Illinois state capitol at Springfield. Smith, *War with Mexico,* I, 49, II, 354.

taken; yet Scott, Twiggs, and Shields[24] did the work in little less than no time— I was told that Gen. Twiggs with his column charged down the road from where you see his Leg in front of the ditch in the face of a destructive fire of grape and musketry, routed the enemy and hurled them over the Bluffs, mentioned, pell mell into the deep ravine below killing hundreds, all in 15 minutes— For the localities of this place I refer you to the pencil marks herewith enclosed which will give you a feint idea of Cerro Gordo— I picked up a grape shot near the Ditch which I intend to take home with me as a memento of this justly celebrated spot— Well, while we were looking at the curiosities around, we of course kept one eye out for the 4000 Guerrilleras so much talked of, but, as at Plan Del Rio were again somewhat disappointed in our expectations— Knowing that we had passed all the dangerous defiles, and having an open country before us, we passed on to En Cerro [*sic*] the Hacienda of Santa Anna, 9 miles East of Jalapa, our fifth encampment, where we pitched our tents in a lovely valley of green grass ¼ of a mile from the Hacienda— Here Milligan left us and proceeded to Jalapa with a small train and escort accompanying the Paymaster and his money wagons. Next morning by daylight Bloomfield (2nd Clerk) and myself mounted our horses and rode up to Santa Anna's Hacienda, which was in times gone by, his principal residence—now it is abandoned and a perfect wreck— The situation is beautiful, overlooking an extensive valley toward the East— After satisfying ourselves at the Hacienda we left the train and rode on to Jalapa where we arrived about 10 oclock— Two days afterwards, Milligan took possession of the Commissary Dept. and we have been busy feeding the B'hoys ever since— Our average issues of Bread alone is 2000 lbs per day.—other articles in proportion—The Sick at the Hospitals *eat more than all the rest*— How long we will stay here, I cannot tell, but presume it will be to the end of the War if we choose to stay that long— For my part I only intend to carry out my original plan of remaining in Mexico 12 months— If Page[25] should be elected I will return home next spring— I received a letter from Mr. Page sometime since proposing to make me his Clerk in the event he should be elected, which proposition I accepted— From you I have received but one letter— I have received no answers whatever, to any letters written from Mexico. I hope though to receive about one bushel by the next train from Vera Cruz— Jalapa is an open City, with a population of 8 or 10 thousand.—It has no fortifications whatever save the buildings and natural defences of the surrounding country— There is nothing to prevent 1000 or 1500 Guerrilleras from galloping into town at any moment— The 1000 troops stationed here could not prevent the Guerrilleras from effecting a safe lodgement in the heart of the city, if they were so disposed—but as there is nothing to be gained by such a measure, I presume they will not undertake it— Their principal object now, is to rob the trains and private individuals on the road— There ought to be one full Regiment detailed, or newly raised for the purpose of scouring the country between Mexico & Vera Cruz and it should be their special business to hang every murdering, robbing Devil they could lay their hands upon— As to Peace I am *Teetotally* opposed to any such thing— Our Government ought never entertain the idea for a single moment of giving back so fine a country as this

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[24] Generals Winfield Scott, David E. Twiggs, and James Shields.

[25] The Rev. J. Page, a Virginia-born Methodist minister, was running for county court clerk against the aged incumbent, Valentine Sevier. McDannel was destined to be disappointed, inasmuch as Sevier won the election. Seventh Census, Pop., Tenn., Greene, Ninth Div., E. District, 292; Johnson to McDannel, October 19, 1847, Greeneville, Johnson Papers.

to these Lousy, Lazy mexicans & Indians— Our Policy should be to remove them, like we did the Cherokees & other tribes in the U. S.— With the right kind of Population there could be no finer country than this— The soil on the Hills in this vicinity is as black, loose and fertile as the Chucky Bottoms[26] and produces every thing desirable—

Jalapa is situated on the Eastern slope of the Pe-ro-tee mountain in the midst of undulating ground— The gardens, Hills, and Valleys in and around the City are covered with Green grass, vegetables, and fruit— The orange groves look delightful, and the trees are all loaded with ripe yellow oranges— Corn is from 6 to 12 inches high and remind[s] me of Spring at home— As to water it is excellent— I could say a thousand and one things about these Mexicans, Spaniards & Indians, their manners and customs, and mode of Worship, but will defer it for the present as I presume you will think this Epistle is lengthy enough for one chapter[.]

We have numerous reports as to Peace, and war[.][27] One report is that Gen. Scott says the army will be disbanded and sent home about the 1st of May— Another is that the Mexican Congress has appointed and sent 3 Commissioners to Washington to accept the propositions of Mr. Trist and to offer in addition Ten Millions for a Peace— Another is that the City of San Luis has sent Delegates to Gen. Scott inviting him to come and take possession of that much talked of city—

Every day we have reports of attacks upon the trains by the Guerrilleras and of murders & Robberies— It is quite a common thing to find an American soldier in the subburbs [*sic*] of the City with his throat cut— Every drunk soldier they catch out of the City they kill him[.] These mexican scoundrels would kill a man for the shirt on his back—and yet if an American kills one of the *peaceable* and *unoffending* Mexicans he is tied up to a Wagon wheel in the main Plaza and publickly [*sic*] whipt [*sic*] upon his bare back, his head is shaved and he is sent to the to the [*sic*] Castle of San Juan (San Wan) at Vera Cruz and to wear an iron collar and chain until the end of the war—[28]

I hope you have received the letters I sent you from Vera Cruz and that you have mailed the papers asked for[.]

Let me hear from you soon
Direct to Jalapa Mexico

As usual
Your friend
B McDannel

Hon. A. Johnson
Washington City
D C

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[26] A reference to the Nolichucky River Valley.

[27] It is not surprising that these conflicting rumors circulated among the army of occupation, since large-scale fighting had for all practical purposes ceased and the treaty negotiations were remarkably confused. Ultimately, Nicholas P. Trist concluded the Treaty of Guadaloupe-Hidalgo at a time when he lacked official authority to do so. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People,* 6th ed. (New York, 1958), 261-65.

[28] McDannel reflects the common soldier's impatience with the efforts of Governor Hughes and others to maintain discipline among the occupying forces.

EARLY EAST TENNESSEE TAXPAYERS

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

VIII. Hawkins County, 1809-1812[1]

Hawkins County, the sixth in order of creation in Tennessee, was created January 6, 1787,[2] out of Sullivan County by an act of the North Carolina general assembly. Sullivan County had been formed in 1779[3] from Washington County.[4]

Hawkins County was organized at the house of Thomas Gibbons on June 4, 1787, about six miles from the present county seat, Rogersville. The following officials were elected: John Hunt, sheriff; Thomas Hutchings, clerk; William Marshall, register; Joseph McCullah, surveyor; and Nathaniel Henderson, coroner. In the founding act commissioners named to locate a place for the courthouse and prison were: Lewis Widener, John Miller, Hutson Johnston, Francis Doherty, Joseph Cloud, William Reid, and John Carns. They reported and recommended that the courthouse, prison, and stocks be built at Joseph Rogers' on Crockett Creek. This became the town of Rogersville, incorporated by the North Carolina general assembly on December 22, 1789.[5]

Part of the original territory of Hawkins County was removed in 1792 in the formation of Knox County;[6] in 1796 Grainger County was created from Hawkins and Knox;[7] in 1801 part of Hawkins went into Claiborne County; in 1844 Hancock County[8] was created from Hawkins

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[1] For introduction to this series see *Publications,* No. 23 (1951), 115-16. Previous installments have been: I. Anderson County, 1802, in No. 23; II. Blount County, 1801, in No. 24; III. Knox County, 1806, in No. 26; IV. Grainger County, 1799, in No. 27; V. Jefferson County, 1800, in No. 28; VI. Carter County, 1796, in No. 30; VII, Sullivan County, 1796, in No. 31. The compiler is indebted to Prentiss Price of Rogersville for supplying copies of the Hawkins County lists.

[2] Edward Scott (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee Including Those of North Carolina Now in Force From the Year 1715 to the Year 1820, Inclusive,* 2 vols. (Knoxville, 1821), I, 378-79. Hereafter cited as Scott, *Laws.*

[3] *Ibid.,* 248-49.

[4] *Ibid.,* 221-22.

[5] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina,* 14 vols. continuing earlier series of *Colonial Records* (Goldsboro, 1905), XXV, 49.

[6] Henry D. Whitney (comp. and ed.), *The Land Laws of Tennessee . . .* (Chattanooga, 1891), 684-85.

[7] *Ibid.,* 687.

[8] *Ibid.,* 697-98, 785-86.

and Claiborne; and in 1870 the old 13th civil district of Hawkins County became part of Hamblen County, created that year out of Jefferson and Grainger counties.[9]

Many of the early Hawkins County records, including county court minutes, marriage register, estate books, guardians' accounts, from the county court clerk's office, were destroyed in November, 1863, when Federal soldiers invaded the office, carried the records to the center of adjacent Depot Street, and set them afire.[10]

The wills were re-recorded from the surviving original instruments. The marriage records were never recopied. The present marriage registers begin in June, 1865. In 1932 Mr. Prentiss Price of Rogersville copied the surviving original loose marriage bonds and licenses. His copy was checked twice, the last time in 1954, and in 1958 was published as Volume 2 of *Tennessee Marriage Records* (Knoxville, Clinchdale Press, 174 p.)

Mr. James Woods Rogan (1823-1891) was keenly interested in the history of the county and used many of the records before the Civil War. He wrote two series of articles which were published in the *Presbyterian Witness* in 1859 and 1860, and in the *Rogersville Review*, December 19, 1889, to November 27, 1890. The latter series was reprinted in the same newspaper from May 14 to August 13, 1953.

The following lists were copied by Prentiss Price from loose manuscripts, but are incomplete for each year covered. Presumably there were once books of recorded lists in the county court clerk's office, which were destroyed during the war. Microfilm and typewritten copies of the original lists are in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville. The library also has lists for companies commanded by Gillenwaters in 1809 and 1811 and by Lucus in 1811.

The county courts in Tennessee were authorized to levy taxes on property by a legislative act passed October 25, 1797,[11] in which types of taxable property were listed and the method of taking the taxes was prescribed. Other acts were passed amending minor provisions of this act. An act passed November 7, 1803, imposed taxes on additional types of property and made some changes in the method of taking the

[9] *Ibid.*, 870-71.

[10] Information from Prentiss Price, Rogersville.

[11] Scott, *Laws*, I, 585-91.

lists.[12] By the second section of this act, the tax rate was set at the following:

For each 100 acres of land 12½ cents; for each town lot 25 cents; on each free poll and male servant 12½ cents; on each slave 25 cents; on each stud horse kept for the season of mares, the sum equal to the season of one mare; on each billiard table $1,000; on each retail store $25.00; on each pedler or hawker $25.00. According to the census of 1810 the population of Hawkins County was 7,643, including 930 slaves.[13]

HAWKINS COUNTY, TENNESSEE
TAX LISTS
1809-1812

Key to Column Numbers[14]
[1] Land
[2] White Polls
[3] Black Polls

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	*Names*	[1]	[2]	[3]
Capt. Lucus's Company, 1809				Ephraim Andrews	100	1	2
Wm Armstrong				Wm Alexander	400	1	
(Little)	200	1	1	Geo W Alvis			
John Armstrong				Spencer Altom			
(big)	100	1		Isaac Amicks		1	
Thomas Armstrong				Thos C Anderson			
Shff	200	1		Stephen Cole			
Jas Armstrong Jun		1		Henry Blevins		1	1
Thomas Armstrong				Jonathan Bannister			
(Shr)	250	1	1	Mason Bishop		1	
Wm Armstrong				Thomas Brooks			
(Sen)	100		1	Jacob Black			
John Armstrong				George Beets Jun	220	1	
Son to James	300	1	2	Joseph Bishop	388	2	1

[12] *Ibid.*, 762-69.

[13] *Aggregate Amount of Persons Within the United States in the Year 1810* (Washington, D. C., 1811), 77.

[14] There were two other columns in each of the lists: town lots and stud horses. All of the 32 town lots listed were in Lucus's company, 1809, and were distributed as follows: Wm. Alexander, 10½; Andrew Campbell, 6; Francis Dalzell, 2; King's Exors (Executors?), 4; Neil & Simpson, 1; Joseph Parks, 4½; Samuel Powel, 2; Jacob Hackney, 1; Alexander Nelson's Estate, 1.

Each of the following (in addition to John Cooper of McWilliams' company) was recorded as owning one stud horse: William Armstrong, Esq., of McCoy's company; Epps Gibbons and Wm. Gillenwaters of Gillenwaters' company; William Nichols, James Walling, Tiry Gibson, and David Denham of Looney's company; Joseph Anderson, Andrew Galbraith, and Stephen Smith of Mores (Moore's) company; and Thomas Johnston, Isham Mills, and William Slavins of Allen's company. Andrew Galbraith was listed in Smith's company (1811) as owning a stud horse, but he probably was the same man listed in Moore's company in 1810.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Thomas Bright		1	
John Bowen		1	
Hugh Chesnut	100	1	
John Cockram	300	1	1
Samuel Coen	100	1	
John Coen	20		
Andrew Chesnut		1	
Andrew Campbell	400	1	2
Hugh Campbells Estate	400		
Dennis Cary		1	
James Davies		1	
Francis Dalzell		1	2
Raleigh Dodson			
John Eishford [?]			
Ralph Elkins	100		
John Elkins	100	1	
George Elkins		1	
William Everett			
William Fisher		1	
Daniel Flora Jun		1	
Daniel Flora Sen			
Herod Grizzel			
Daniel Grisry [?]		1	
Hezekiah Hamblin	365	1	4
George Hale for self & W King's Exors		1	4
William Hedrick			
Jacob Huntsinger		1	
Marvil Helton		1	
Harry Jones [?]		1	
John Johnson	150	1	
Pleasant Johnson	1200		1
Thomas Jackson			
George Kerns Sen	300		
John Kerns	110	1	
George Kernes Jun	90	1	
Jacob Kerns		1	
Robert Kile	1400		7
Rodham Kenner	600	1	5
William King			
George Kizer [?]			
William Long			
Daniel Lipe	170	1	1
[Do Do]	200		
John Lucus	100	1	
Dennis McCairy [?]		1	
Alexander McCanse	120	1	
Samuel Milligan	120	1	
John Morris		1	
Edward Morris	100		
David Martin		1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
William Morris S. C.	100		
William McCarty	200	1	3
William McCulloch	100	1	
Henry McCulloch	100	1	
Thomas Moony		1	
William Moony	150	1	
Richard Mitchell			
George Moody	120	1	
James Nugent			
Neil & Simpson	100	2	1
John Nugent			
Robert Nall	300	1	7
Henry Orth	1920		
Daniel Owens		1	
Joseph Parks	100		
Lawrence Pearson			
Levy Panther		1	
John Pilant	300		
Joseph Pilant		1	
Henry Prices Estate	200		
Peter Pearson		1	
Samuel Powel		1	
Benjamin Powel		1	
Christian Pearson			
Wm Roseberry & Absalom Roseberry			
Jeremiah Rowland			
Michael Rorke Jun			
Willson Roach			
John Rhea	500		
Do do	640		
Christian Shanks	38	1	
John Smith			
John Stakely	200	1	
Adam Shanks			
John Tibbs	256	1	1
George Winterbower Jun		1	1
Do Do Sen	175		
Edward Williams		1	
John Woods		1	
F Dalzell returns one cotton machine			
Jacob Hackney		1	
Walter Sims	28800		
Joseph Painter		1	
Samuel Harlen [?]		1	
Wyet Coleman		1	
Samuel Myers		1	
Alexr Nelsons Estate,	300		
returned by Robt	300		
Nelson	100		

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
	100		
James Hagan	519	1	6
Richard Mitchell	1240	1	2
	1140		
	640		
	80		
	48021	74	56

McWilliams Company, 1809[15]

Arnold, Mary widow	170	[torn]	
Aikerd, John		1	
Austen, Sam		1	
Buris, John	100	1	
Branum, Thomas	100	1	
Brandun, Wm		1	
Beaty, Walter	100		
Cooper, James	700		3
Cooper, E[l]izabeth	500		
Cooper, John, 1 stud horse	480	1	
Cleck, Mikle	275		
Crew, Jacob	140	1	
Critz, John	567	1	
Crobarger, George	158		1
Currey, Sam	181	1	
Cox, Jacob	699	1	5
Cooper, John for M Daughertys Act	400		
Davis, John Jr		1	
Derrick, Mikle	233	1	
Dollins, David		1	
Derrik, John		1	
Davis, Jonathan	150	1	
Davis, Willi[a]m	100		
Epperson, Charls		1	
Epperson, William		1	
Elis, John	300	1	
Foster, Winkfeild		1	
Guyn, David		1	
Gentri, Joseph		1	
Gibbons, John	250	1	1
Hensley, Temple		1	
Hensley, Trent		1	
Hamilton, Robbert	965	1	
Hensley, Edmond		1	
Jones, Aquilla	200	1	
Jones, Walter		1	
Kincade, D[a]vid Esq	820	1	
K[in]cade, David, Cr Valley	700	1	9
King, John	500		3
Liaht [Light], John		1	
Light, Joshua		1	
Lairkins, Thomas	150	1	1
Lee, Robbert		1	
McPheeters, Sam	150	1	
McPheeters, John	300	1	
Marshall, John	316		
Murphey, Joseph		2	1
Mitchell, John		1	
Mcanulley, Elijah	100	1	
Mcanully, John		1	
Morrison, James		1	
Morryson, Thomas		1	1
Morrison, Sam	350	1	1
Mill[e]r, Mathies	50		
Mann, Ebenezer		1	
Mann, Joseph		1	
McMinn, John		1	
Phillips, Waid		1	
Pannil, Beny		1	
Pairks, Jos. Lee C. where Mcanelley lives	100		
Ross, David, T Hopkins	7948		4
Rice, Dannel	640	1	1
Richards, John Sen	600		
Roberts, Josa		1	
Richard, John Jun		1	
Richard, Mikle		1	
Hopkins, Thomas, Bot of Stuart	380		
Smith, Elizabeth	160		3
Skelton, Wm	280	1	
Skelton, James		1	
Smith, John	200	1	1
Skelton, Thomas		1	
Smith, Alexr	300	1	
Skelton, Ruben		1	
Talor, Thomas	200	1	
Weaver, John	150		
Walker, Wm		1	
Wineger, John Jr	400		
Wineger, George		1	
Wilfee, Christopher	300	1	2

[15] "This list," according to Prentiss Price on his typewritten copy, "has been through a fire. One corner when folded is slightly charred and torn."

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Wilflee, John		1	
Winger, Wm			
(C valley	100	1	
Hicks, James	200	1	
Hains, Zachariah		1	
Woods, Zachariah		1	
Williams, Ginney	590		
Patterson, John	898	1	
Severs, Wm		1	
Beiard, John		1	
Horn, Fredrik Jun [?]		1	
Cleck, John		1	
Reynoulds, Mikle		1	
Patterson, Alexr	440	1	
Wells, Aaron	191	1	
Morrison, Peter	330		
Burnit, Jerremiah	140	1 [torn]	
Jones, Martin		1 [torn]	
Leek, John		1 [torn]	
McMinn, Robbert Esq	130	1 [torn]	
Gains, James		1	
Morrison, William		1	
McMinn, Joseph	400	5[?]	
McWilliams, Hugh	150	3	4[?]
	18381	85	43

Capt Lawrence's Company 1809

Anderson,			
Mr. Joseph	1480	1	5
Austin, Natheneil		1	
Aikin, Harrison		1	1
Aikin, Ezekiel		1	3
Amis, Williss	82	1	2
Bryan, Joseph	160		
Bassett, Nathl	200	2	4
Baxter, Stephen		1	
Bond, Wright Senr		1	
Bond, Wright Junr		1	
Bragg, William Senr	150		
Bragg, Wm Junr		1	
Boykin, Eli	279	1	9
Bare, Peter			
Cloud, Benja	160	1	3
Cloud, Wm		1	
Cotral, Hiram		1	
Connor, Archibald		1	
Connor, Julius	640	1	3
Cain, Hugh			
Carpenter, Yelverton	50	1	
Conway, George	300	1	5

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Childers, Wm P.	120	1	
Do Do	29		
Cocke, Thomas	640	1	
Cocke, Jno,			
Cocke, Thos	25		
Connor, Thomas		1	1
Coolley, Isaac		1	
Dawson, John		1	
Davis, Lewis			
Davis, Benja			
Durham, John		1	
Evans, William	147		1
Do Do	40		
Evans, James		1	
Enis, William			
Galbraith, Andrew	421	1	3
Green, Francis	66 1/3		
Hill, John S.	440		4
Henderson, George	70	1	
Haywood, Wm			
Johnson, James Senr			7
Johnson, James Junr	157	1	2
Johnson, Wm	150	1	
Jack, William	100	1	
Jago, Abraham	200	1	
Lathim, James	170	1	
Lathim, Moses	180	1	1
Lawrence, Randolph			
Lebo, John	300		
Lay, Bartlet		1	
Lovin, James			
McAnelly, John	200	1	
McCraw, Gabriel	100	1	1
McClemore, Presley		1	
Moffett, William			
Mills, Hardy	162	2	
Moore, Hugh	238	1	5
Miller, John		1	
Miller, Robt		1	
Miller, Jacob		1	
Moore, Lemuel		1	
Martin, William	100	1	
Do Do	100		
Orick, Benja		1	
Orick, Saml		1	
Orick, James		1	
Owens, Wm	300	1	1
Do Do	480		
Do Do	50		
Owens, Farr		1	
Potter, Paul		1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Poindexter, John	100		
Permenter, Theophilus	50	1	
Robertson, Hezekiah			
Ramsey, Richard		1	
Rigz, Saml			
Stubblefield, R Lockly	300		
Do Do	215		
Stubblefield, Wiot	350		
Stubblefield, Thomas		1	
Stubblefield, Wiot Junr		1	
Smith, Jackson			
Timmons, Charles	150	1	
Timmons, Wm		1	
Thompson, Nathan	200	1	
Wendel, David			
Willis, David			
Wells, John S.		1	
Williams, Margaret	300	1	6
Webb, Theodorick		1	
Cocke, William the heirs of Thos Dodson, Deceasd by James Anderson	250		
Ballard, Alexd			
Grizal, Herod		1	
Meritt, George		1	
Patrick, Jessee		1	
Patrick, John		1	
Richardson, Henry W. the heirs of John Creed, decd by Hugh Moore	742		6
Lard, William		1	
Moore, John		1	
Anderson, Thos		1	
Gaylard, James		1	
Flower, James		1	
	11143 1/3	72	73

McCoys Company 1809

Armstrong, William Esq	1740		8
Do for Marsteller	700		
Do for Saml Gamble	226		
Argenbright, George	78	1	
Armstrong, Thomas	100	1	4
Armstrong, John	150		3
Brown, Henry	100	1	
Bradley, William	1400	1	3
Bean, Mordecai	223	1	
Barret, Thomas	150	1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Brown, Jesse	200	1	
Biggs, Benjamin	450	1	
Brown, John		1	
Childs, Paul		1	
Charles, James Jr	89	1	
Coldwell, John	298	1	2
Cobb, Joel	75	1	
Coldwell, Benoni	540	1	2
Chambers's, E & Daniel (admr)	480		
Christian, Lewis	174		
Christian, Allen	200	1	
Collins, George Sr	100		
Christian, John	90	1	
Coldwell, David	280	1	2
Clipper, Peter		1	
Clipper, Frederick		1	
Childs, John	200	1	
Christian, Lewis Jr	152	1	
Collins, George Jr	100	1	
Collins, James	100	1	
Clipper, George		1	
Chambers, William		1	
Coldwell, Thomas	570	1	1
Caldwell, James Esq	160		2
Caldwell, John (Carters Valley)		1	
Coldwell, Ballard	300	1	2
Church, Christian	100		
Chappel, Henry	100	1	
Campbell, John		1	
Carrington, Asia		1	
Church, Henry		1	
Davis, Lilburn		1	
Drury, William		1	
Eaton, William		1	
Eaton, Alexander		1	
Felkner, Jacob & Salley admrs of Lewis	150		
Felkner, Henry	600	1	
Forgey, Hugh		1	
Finley, William	145		
Finley, James (Doctor)	50		1
Finley, Samuel		1	
Felkner, Phillip		1	
Ferguson, Elijah		1	
Forgey, Andrew Sr	400		1
Forgey, Andrew Jr		1	
Finley, Reuben		1	
Francisco, John	130	1	1
Forgey, James	663	1	2

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Felkner, George	50	1	
Felkner, Jacob		1	
Godard, Francis	200	1	
Groves, David	112	1	
Galbreath, Joseph	100	1	1
Galbreath, Arthur	340		3
Hensley, Robert		1	
Hagood, Elizabeth	100		1
Hagood, James	89	1	1
Hiler, David	70	1	
Harrel, Hazel	100	1	
Harrel, John Sr			5
Harrel, John Jr	200	1	
Harrel, Enoch	200		
Hamilton, William		1	
Henderson, Nathaniel Esq	400	1	1
Henderson, Samuel		1	
Humble, Mary (widow)	350		
Humble, Joseph		1	
Hicks, Isaac	200	1	
Holland, Shadrick		1	
Jackson, Micajah		1	
Judkins, James	60	1	1
Johnson, George		1	
K[i]ncheloe, Elijah	757	1	3
Kline, Jacob		1	
Kirkpatrick, James		1	
Long, Alexander		1	
Long, James		1	
Lyons, William	160	1	1
Lockmiller, Jacob	100	1	
Lyons, James		1	
Long, John (river)	100	1	
Lockmiller, Jonas		1	
Lockmiller, John Sr	548		
Lockmiller, John Jr		1	
Livingston, Jacob		1	
Leaper, James, Francis & Hugh	640	3	2
Leaper, Francis	300		
Leaper, Mathew		1	
Lockmiller, John (over river) —	117	1	
Long, Joseph Jr	320	1	3
Larkins, Henry	200	1	1
Loney [*sic*], Isham	72	1	
Looney, Michael	138		3
Looney, Absolom		1	3
Looney, Mary (widow)	164		1
Langford, Jordan		1	
Long, Isaac		1	
Miller, John	500	1	
Maxwell, David		1	
Maxwell, George Esq	600		4
McCullah, Joseph		1	
Miller, Michael		1	
Mason, Yelverton		1	
Myers, Lewis		1	
McVay, James		1	
Messer, Jacob		1	
Messer, James		1	
McVay, Patrick		1	
McCullah, Farmer		1	
Norman, Matthew		1	
North, Edward	237		
North, John		1	
Patterson, James		1	
Phipps, William	350	1	4
Pheagens, William	50	1	
Reece, Joseph	100	1	
Richards, Joshua		1	
Rice, Reuben	300	1	
Richards, John Sr	650		
Rice, John Jr	84	1	
Rice, Drury	150	1	
Rice, Edmond		1	
Sissum, William		1	
Smith, Nathan		1	
Sproul, Thomas	100	1	
Skelton, John		1	
Sensebough, Henry	194	1	
Saunders, Mary Arther		1	
Sensebough, Jacob	200	1	1
Stubblefield, William	350	1	
Stubblefield, Coleman		1	
Stubblefield, Fielding		1	
Surguine, James	1240	1	3
Stewart, Hamilton	250	2	
Skelton, William		1	
Snider, William		1	
Saunders, Richard		1	
[These three names out of order at the end of list]			
Thurman, William		1	
Vaughn, James	200	1	
Waterson, Edward	200		4
Woods, Joseph	140	1	
Walters, Solomon		1	
Woods, James		1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Williams, Elizabeth (widow)			3
Williams, Darling		1	
Williams, Theophilus		1	
Winstead, Francis	400	1	
Winegar, Phillip	100	1	
Winegar, Frederick		1	
Winegar, Peter		1	
Warren, William		1	
Winstead, Ezekiel		1	
Winegar, John	416	2	
Winegar, William	100	1	
Wilson, Jesse	100	1	
Winegar, Andrew	316		
Wright, George	500	1	
Warren, James		1	
Young, John	1306	1	3
Young, William	500	1	2
Young, Robert	270	1	2
	28553	146	88

Gillenwaters Company, 1810[16]

Wm Gross	456	1	
John McBroom	382		1
Fanny Groves	397		2
Epps Gibbons	31		1
Wm Gillenwaters	340	1	5
Spencer Acuff	50	1	
Corl Carmack	993	1	
James Charles	236	2	
Jacob Creese	100	1	
John Gilbreath	220	1	1
Joseph Gilbreath	100	1	1
Wm Gibbons	300	1	2
Jacob Millar	200	1	2
Peter Millar	125		
Wm More	52	1	1
Wm Mee	150	1	
Zachariah Ingram		1	
James Simmons	145		
Saml B. Hawkins	200		
John Howell	400	1	1
Jacob Wright		1	
Joel Gillenwaters	150	1	3
Thos Gillenwaters	320	1	1
Wm Shropshire	54	1	
John Green		1	
William Loony		1	
John Grosse		1	
	5411	22	21
Robt Mallery	72	1	
Wm Spires		1	
John Shanks	103	1	
Francis Younge		1	
Andw Ingram Senr	300	1	1
Jos Pilant		1	
Thos Mee		1	
Fanny Glespy			3
Samuel Wilson	504	1	
Thos Ingram	550	1	
John Cox	135		
Amasa Howell	355	1	3
Philip King		1	4
Jos Russell	400		3
John Carmack		1	
Danl Henry	25	1	
Wm Bradford	53	1	
Wm Carmack		1	
Benjn Hutcher[s]on	100	1	
David Sensabaugh	200	1	1
Daniel Flora		1	
Christan Simmons	220	1	
	3017	19	15
	5411	22	21
	8428	41	36
Wm Armstrong	552		4
Ira Ball	35		
Wm Brice	709	1	
George Cox		1	
Jacob Clepper	100		
Robert Campbell	670	1	
James Y Campbell	100	1	
Groce, Christopher	150		
Hinch Gilliam	75	1	
Thomas Henly	50	1	
Saml Kirk		1	
John Kensinger	240	1	
Sampson Larkin	150	1	
Benja Looney		1	
George Myers	100	1	
Thos McBroom		1	
Alexander McBroom		1	

[16] "In a good many instances this list shows the amount of tax paid. It is scribbled all over with names and figures." *Ibid.*

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Wm Molsby	250	1	
Martin Shaner	346	1	1
Hardin Sanders	75	1	
Phillip Clepper	65		
Jonas Lockmiller	400	1	
David Kasner		1	
Franklin Denham		1	
John Tebbs	30	1	
Lewis Stirgeon		1	
Thos Ingram	400	1	
	150		
Jessey McWilliams	130	1	1

Loudebacks Company 1810

Bright, William		1	
Barnett, John		1	
Beal, George		1	
Barrott, Stepen		1	
Breaden, James	1000	1	1
Cox, James		1	
Coward, James		1	
Coward, Joel Jnr		1	
Cyster, Daniel	150		
Chesnut, Henry		1	4
Counsel, Cyrus		1	
Cox, Tabitha	300		2
Dodson, John	350		
Day, William		1	
Everhart, Jacob	300	1	
Everhart, Christley		1	
Finney, William	160	1	
Farmer, James		1	
George, Harbert	150	1	
Gollihorn, John		1	
Grigsby, John Snr	550		6
Henton, William			2
Haskins, John		1	
Hoard, William Snr	270	1	
Hoofmaster, Goodlef	200		
Haynes, Thomas		1	1
	3430	20	16
Jeffres, William		1	
Kite, John	180	1	
Kite, George Snr	320		2
Kite, William		1	
Kite, George Junr	200	1	
King, Andrew	600	1	
Kenner, Winder	370	1	
Lawson, Jacob	290	1	1
Lea, Samuel		1	
Lawson, Elijah		1	
Loudeback, Isaac	124	1	
Lawson, Isham	100	1	
Lawson, Peter	100	1	
Lawson, William	200		
Long, Nicholas		1	
Loudeback, Henry	166	1	
Manes, Daniel	50	1	
Manes, Bartlett	150	1	
Maples, William		1	1
Manes, Seth		1	
Manes, William		1	
Manes, George	50		
Manes, Ephraem	150	1	
Pain, William Junr	250	1	
Paine, Charles		1	
Parton, Charles		1	
Pope, Adkin		1	
	3300	24	4
Right, Hance	270	1	
Rork, John		1	
Rork, Michael Snr	290		
Rutherford, John		1	
Reynolds, Isham	300		
Reynolds, William Snr	180		
Reynolds, George		1	
Reynolds, Henry		1	
Robertson, Hezekiah	400	1	
Smith, Anthony G.	50	1	
Smith, John		1	
Short, Henry		1	
Self, Thomas	200		
Smith, Samuel		1	1
Smith, Joshua		1	1
Stewart, Elisha		1	
Smith, Lauther	44		
Smith, James		1	1
Henry & Lindenberger	397		
Smith, Robert	100		
Willis, John	100	1	
	2331	14	3
	3300	24	4
	3430	20	16
	9061	58	23

Capt Looney Company 1810

Anderson, Swinfield	100	1	
Anderson, James	50	1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Bloomer, John	50	1	
Begly, Hennery		1	
Brooks, Littleton	600	1	1
Bloomer, Daniel	100	1	
Bleavins, James		1	
Brisco, Thomas		1	
Begley, John	300	1	
Briant, William		1	
Brisco, John	86	1	
Cox, Absolum	150	1	
Colings, Bengamon	90	1	
Collings, Vardemon	100	1	
Collings, James	100	1	
Collings, Hennery		1	
Denham, John		1	
Baker, Andrew	200	1	
Burtain, Jess	150	1	
Evins, James	50	1	
Evines, Mark		1	
Frost, Robrt	250	1	
Goodmon, Obedah	100	1	
Goodmond, Jurdan		1	
Gray, Edward		1	
Garrison, John		1	
	2476	26	1
Garrison, Isaac	350		
Garrison, David		1	
Gallian, Thomas	100	1	
Gonce, Isaac	200	1	
Goodman			
Gibson, Gerden	100	1	
Stapleton, William		1	
Hubbord, John	100	1	
Hurd, Elijah		1	
Helton, Anald	100	1	
Johnson, Moses	100		
Johnson, Gorge	50	1	
Johnson, Moses [again]	100		
Johnson, Thomas	50	1	
Joanes, Thomas		1	
Johnson, James		1	
Kile, Robert	600		
Looney, John	300	1	
Lawson, John	50	1	
Looney, Absalum Esq	640	1	1
Lawson, Thomas		1	
Mendingall, Isaac	50		
Mosley, William		1	
Neal, Adam	100	1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Nichols, William	50	1	
Prat, Thomas		1	
Roborts, William	60		2
Roborts, James Esq	50	1	
Roborts, Joseph		1	
Rogers, Doswell	50	1	
Roborts, John	40	1	
	3240	24	3
Rogers, Thomas	50		
Anderson, William	100		
Sisemore, Gorge		1	
Vaughn, William	100		
Vaughn, John	100	1	
Weddle, Daniel	100	1	
Weddle, Amos	30	1	
Walling, William	300	1	
Walling, James	530	1	1
Wilbourn, Stephen	195	1	
Weddle, Elias	50	1	
Walling, Thomas		1	
Weddle, David	25	1	
Weddle, John	50	1	
Swiliven, Ezekiel		1	
Munnahon, Thomas		1	
Munnahon, John		1	
Rogers, Gorge		1	
Munke, Shadrick	30		
Rogers, Thomas		1	
Monke, John		1	
Smith, Gorge		1	
Fields, John		1	
Cotten, Burel		1	
Gibson, Yearby		1	
Gibson, Shepard	50	1	
Gibson, Charles		1	
Gibson, Tiry	50	1	
Gibson, Royal		1	
	2030	25	1
Vallingtine Collings	100	1	
James Bird		1	
Samuel More		1	
Mckgee, William		1	
John Wilson		1	
Clemment Lawson		1	
Philisom Howel		1	
Birton, Robing		1	
Nichols, Surril		1	
Qualls, Rolen		1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Mckiney, James		1	
Denham, David			
	100	11	
	2476	26	1
	3240	24	3
	2030	25	1
	7846	86	5

Capt. Mores Company, 1810[17]

Anderson, Joseph M.	1880	1	5
Amis, Willis	92	1	2
Akin, Harrison		1	1
Boykin, Eli	279	1	9
Bryan, Joseph	160		
Bragg, William Senr	150		
Bragg, William Junr		1	
Bare, Peter Senr	100		
Bare, Peter Junr		1	
Bond, Wright		1	
Childers, Wm P.	149	1	
Cloud, Benjamin	160		
Conway, Thos Senr	274	1	4
Conway, George		1	1
Car, Samuel		1	
Conner, Archabald		1	
Connor, Thomas		1	1
Carpenter, Yelverton	50	1	
Creeds, Johns (Heirs)	742		6
Cocke, Thos	898	1	
Cocke, William			
Cocke, John & Thos	25		
Dawson, John		1	
Dodson, Thos (Heirs)	150		
Evans, William	187		1
Easley, Daniel		1	
Evans, James		1	
Galbraith, Andrew	421	1	3
Grizzle, Harrod		1	
Hill, John S.	500		4
Henderson, George	70	1	
Hicks, Wm.		1	
Haywood, William		1	
	6787	23	37
Johnson, James	150	1	3
Johnson, William	150		

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Jacke, William	100	1	
Jaygo, Abraham	200	1	
Ireland, John	100		
Lathem, James	170	1	
Lathim, Moses	288	1	1
Lebo, John	400		
Laurence, Randolph	362		
Loven, James			
McAnally, John	140	1	
Mills, Hardy	162	1	
Mills, Henry		1	
Moore, Lemual		1	
Meritt, George		1	
Moore, John		1	1
Moore, Hugh G.		1	4
McCraw, Gabriel	100	1	1
Owens, William	330	1	1
Owens, Far		1	
Owens, James			
Potter, Paul		1	
Poidexture, John	100		
Permenter, Theophlus	50	1	
Robertson, Thos		1	
Stubblfield, Wiett Senr	350		
Stubblefield, Wiett		1	
Stubblefield, Thos.		1	
Stubblefield, R Lockly	515		
Smith, Henry			1
Smith, Stephen		1	
Timmons, Charles	150	1	
Timmons, William		1	
Thompson, Natham	269	1	
Willis, David		1	
	4586	25	12
Wilson, William		1	
Wells, John S.		1	
Webb, Theoderick		1	
Williams, Margaret	300		4
Williams, William		1	
C[l]oud, Isaac		1	
Shadoe, Joseph		1	
Bassett, Nathaniel	200		4
Baxter, Stephen	120	1	
Yow, Peregrine G.		1	
Littleton, Charles		1	
Breeding, Thos.		1	
Seels, Solomon		1	

[17] The list for this company has an additional column headed "Situation," which gives for most of the members the location of the land, e.g. "Holsten [Holston] river," "on the county line," "poor valey [*sic*] creek," and whether gained by deed, grant, or occupation.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Huchenson, Daniel		1	1
Willabough, Matthew	200		
Cummens, James		1	
McVey, James Senr			1
	820	13	10
	4586	25	12
	6787	23	37
total	12193	61	59

Hale's Company, 1810[18]
[fragment]

Robert Philips		1	
Lewis Tharp		1	
John West	300		
William Hedrick		1	
John Hedrick		1	
Joseph White	300		
Nathan White	398 1/3	1	
William Grigsbey		1	1
John Hamblen	500	1	5
	2		
	75		
	45		
Nathan Vernon		1	
Abraham Vernon	270	1	
	275		
	170		

The foregoing is A list of the Taxable Property Taken by me in Capt Hales Company for the year 1810

John Hamblen

[on back]

Mooney, George	300	1	
Barger, Jacob	87		
Ferguson, James		1	
Long, Jonathan	450		
Long, John		1	
Moreland, Wm	280	1	
Mooney, Edward	275	1	
Patrick, John		1	
Long, George	100	1	
	1492	7	
[above]	2335	9	6
[missing]	5584	20	16
[missing]	3378	24	4
	12789	60	26

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Capt. N. Smith's Company, 1811			
Anderson, Joseph M.	1880	1	7
Anderson, James		1	
Amis, Willis	114	1	2
Austen, Joseph		1	
Boykin, Eli	279	1	9
Bryant, Joseph	160		
Bragg, Wm Senr	150		
Bragg, Wm Junr		1	
Bair, Peter Junr		1	
Bair, Peter Senr	100		
Bond, Wright		1	
Bassett, Nathaniel	200		4
Baxter, Stephen	120	1	
Cocke, Thos	1113	1	2
Cocke, Thos & John	25		
Cain, Hugh	100		
Carpenter, Yelverton	50	1	
Creed, John, Heirs	742		6
Cloud, Benjamin	160		
Connor, Thomas		1	1
Cummins, James		1	
Dobtsen, Thos, Heirs	250		1
Davis, Lewis Senr	200		2
Davis, Lewis Junr		1	
Davis, Benjamin		1	
Davis, Wm		1	
Evins, William	187	1	1
Easley, Daniel		1	
Ennis, Wm		1	
Galbraith, Andrew	420	1	3
Grizzle, Herrod		1	
Gray, William		1	
Hill, John S.	500		5
Haywood, Wm		1	
Henderson, George	70	1	
Harrell, John		1	
Ireland, John	100		
Johnson, James	150	1	4
Johnson, Stephen	150		
Jacke, Wm	50	1	
Jayco, Abraham	200	1	
Lathim, James	170	1	
Lathim, Moses	288	1	1
Lebo, John	520	1	
Littleton, Charles		1	

[18] This list has three additional columns headed "No. of pieces," "How Gained," and "Situation." John Hamblen and Abraham Vernon had 4 and 3 pieces, respectively. Under "How Gained" the word "Entry" is used instead of grant. Under "Situation" such locations as "Holston R," "Bent C," "Carter's V," and "Robisons C" are given.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Littleton, Mark		1	
McAnally, John	160	1	
Miles, Hardy	162	1	
Miles, Henry		1	
Miller, Jacob		1	
Meritt, George		1	
McCraw, Gabl	100	1	1
McCraw, Maddox		1	
Moore, John		1	1
Moore, Hugh G.	586	1	5
McVey, James Jr		1	
Owens, Willim	670		1
Owens, Far	160	1	
Potter, Paul		1	
Poindexture, John	100		
Permenter, Theophilus	50	1	
Robertson, Thos		1	
Stubblefield, Wyett	100	1	
Stubblefield, R. Locke	515		
Stubblefield, Thos		1	
Stubblefield, Wyett [again]	470		
Smith, Jackson	200	1	1
Smith, Henry			1
Shadeh [Shadow?], Joel		1	
Timmons, Charles	150	1	
Timmons, Wm		1	
Timmons, Thos		1	
Thompson, Nathan	265	1	1
Willis, David		1	
Wilson, William		1	
Williams, William		1	
Williams, Margaret	300		5
Willoughby, Wallace	150		
Webb, Theodoricke		1	
Wells, John S.		1	
Names of those that has not [been] Given in on the other side of the River			
Riggs, Samuel			
Robertson, Richard	62	1	
Ballard, Alexander			
Deadericke & Windel			
Sugars, Nathan			
Lay, Bartlett			
Flowers, John Senr		1	
Flowers, John Junr		1	
Pharis, Jacob		1	
Ramsey, Richard		1	
Cocke, John			
Cocke, William			
Cooley, Isaac		1	
Carter, Silus		1	
Henderson, Thos		1	
Lott, Arthur		1	
Yow, Peregrine G.		1	
Short, Samuel		1	
Gaylard, James		1	
Beets, John		1	
Hicks, William		1	
Miller, Robert		1	
Evan, Young		1	
Floyd, Estis		1	
Edward Cox		1	
Harman, Miller		1	
John Miller		1	
William Martain			
Pharaoh Cobb	860		13
William Cobb		1	1
[Given twice as Capt Nathaniel Smith's Company]			

Capt. Allen's Company 1811

Alford, Jacob		1	
Blakeman, Moses		1	
Brewer, Jacob	50	1	
Bird, Betsy	200		
Beshears, John		1	
Barnat, George	50	1	
Butcher, John		1	
Bray, John		1	
Berry, Thomas		1	
Boyd, William		1	
Bennat Coffee		1	
Creech, Jesse	40		
Coffee, Benjamin	250		
Cloud, Joseph		1	
Davis, William		1	
Davis, Joseph	50		
Davis, Archibald		1	
Day, David		1	
Epperson, Thomas	100		
Epperson, Jesse	300	1	
Epperson, Joseph	100		
Giddings, James	200		
Greene, Jeremiah	100	1	
Hutchison, Lewis		1	
Hutchison, William	100	2	2
Hurly, Nehemiah	40		
Hawk, John	200		
Hawk, Abraham		1	
Jones, Cherry		1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Johnston, Asahel	100	1	
Johnston, Thomas	104	1	
Jones, Elizabeth	75		
Jones, James		1	
Kidwell, John	400		
Long, William	50		
Lawson, Thomas	50	1	
Mitchell, Solomon			2
Mitchell, John		1	
Mills, Isham	800	1	
Mills, John	240	1	1
Martin, Thomas	50	1	
Martin, William	100	1	
McKoy, Archibald	150	1	
McDaniel, Alexander	200	1	
Mathes, Enos		1	
Murrell, James	30	1	
Orrick, Benjamin		1	
Odunnahoo, Patrick	500		
Ogin, John	100		
Orrick, Samuel		1	
Orrick, James		1	
Province, Thomas		1	
Pearson, Christian, Junr		1	
Rhea, Joseph		1	
Seals, Peter		1	
Sullavin, John		1	
Slaten, John	200	1	
Seals, Solomon		1	
Stewart, William	50	1	
Slavins, William			
Trent, William		1	
Tucker, James		1	
Wolf, Charles	200		
Wolf, Peter		1	
West, Moses		1	
Wolf, Jacob		1	
Wolf, George	200	1	
West, John		1	
Wilder, William		1	
West, John [again]		1	
Wilder, James		1	
Wolf, Adam	50	1	
Young, Jeremiah		1	

Tax List taken by Wm. Nichols
1812

Cury, Eligah		1	
Cury, William		1	
Disarn, Francs		1	
Gibson, Jesee	30	1	
Guttary, William	50	1	
Roberts, James	150	1	
Denham, John	30	1	
Robarts, William	60		1
Hubart, John	118	1	
Sisemore, Owen	100		
Click, Matthias	640	1	
Evins, James	50	1	
Walling, James	530	1	1
Johnson, Moses	100		
Johnson, James		1	
Baker, William		1	
Monk, John	35	1	
Weddle, Daniel	80	1	
Weddle, James	75	1	
Weddle, John Sinor	75	1	
Roreark, Barnabas	50	1	
Umphres, Moses	150		
Bloomer, Daniel	150	1	
Vaughn, William Sinior	100		
Gray, Hamonas		1	
Vaughn, John	100	1	
Vaughn, William Junor		1	
Galion, John	80	1	
Wilson, John		1	
Galion, Thomas	100		
Monahon, Thomas		1	
Weddle, Robart		1	
Joans, Ambers		1	
Anderson, Gorge	130	1	
Rogers, Thomas	75	1	
Rogers, Douswell	75	1	
Heard, James	25	1	
Heard, Eligah		1	
Helton, Arnold		1	
Walling, William	350		1
Weddle, John Junor		1	
Walling, Thomas		1	
Robarts, Joseph		1	
Stephens, James		1	
Stepleton, William		1	
Weddle, Elias	50	1	
Weddle, Thomas	100		
Blevens, James		1	
Weddle, Amos	30	1	
Nichols, William	50	1	

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Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

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Phillips, Mrs. Virginia. Rowlett Paine, mayor of Memphis, 1920-1924. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers. no. 13: 95-116.)

Pioneer wagon train plugs for road across mountains. (Tenn. conser. Aug. '59. v. 25: 9-11.)

Posey, Walter B. The Protestant episcopal church: An American adaptation. (Jour. so hist. Feb. '59. v. 25: 3-30.)

Pouder, Margaret. Tennessee reorganizes its state government, 1923-1959. (Tenn. Planner. Jan.-Mar. '59. v. 18: 67-84.)

Purdy, Rob Roy, ed. Fugitives reunion: conversations at Vanderbilt, May 3-5, 1956. Vanderbilt Studies in the humanities. vol. III. Nashville, Vanderbilt univ. press, 1959. 224 p. $5.00.

Roper, James E. Marcus B. Winchester, first mayor of Memphis: his later years. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 13: 5-37.)

Scheer, Julian. "Tweetsie." (N. C. hist. rev. Jan. '59. v. 36: 168-72.)

Severy, Merle, comp. America's wonderlands: The national parks. Washington, Nat. geog. soc., 1959. 512 p.

Shelby, Carolyn. Folklore of Jordan Springs, Tennessee. (Tenn. folklore soc. Bulletin. Mar. '59. v. 25: 6-17.)

Shepperson, Wilbur S. A Welch settlement in Scott County, Tennessee. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '59. v. 18: 162-68.)

Smith, Russell M. The Andrew Johnson papers. (Lib. Cong. qr. jour., Nov. '59.)

Stephen, Walter W. Andrew Jackson's "Forgotten Army." (Ala. rev. Apr. '59. v. 12: 126-31.)

Tanner, Helen Hornbeck. Zespedes and the southern conspiracies. (Fla. hist. qr. July '59. v. 38: 15-28.)

Tennessee is famous for finest breeds of horses. (Tenn. conser. Dec. '59. v. 25: 11-13, 19.)

Tennessee State library and archives. Collection of newspapers on microfilm, 1958-59. Nashville, 1959. 21p.

Tennessee State library and archives. A list of Tennessee state publications, no. 6. Mimeographed, Jan. '59.

Tennessee State library and archives. Registers, no. 1: The Jacob McGavock Dickinson papers. Nashville, Manuscript section, Archives div., 1959. 19 p.

Tennessee State planning commission. Publications [no.] 304. Publications of the Tennessee State planning commission, 1950-1959 [by Ellen Muhr. 1959] 36 p.

Truman, Harry S. The most mistreated of presidents. (N. C. hist. rev. Jan. '59. v. 36: 197-204.)

Van Deusen, Glyndon V. The Jacksonian era, 1828-1845. New York, Harper & brothers, 1959. 291 p. $5.00.

Warner, Ezra J. Generals in gray. Baton Rouge, La. State univ. press, 1959. 420 p. $7.50.

Weaver, Blanche Henry Clark. Shifting residential patterns of Nashville. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '59. v. 18: 20-34.)

Webb, George W. The changing agricultural scene on the Cumberland plateau. (Jour. of Tenn. acad. of sci. July '59. v. 34: 189-97.)

Weller, Jac. Nathan Bedford Forrest: an analysis of untutored military genius. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '59. v. 18: 213-51.)

White explains origin of nickname "Volunteer State." (Tenn. conser. Dec. '59. v. 25: 22.)

White, Robert H., ed. Messages of the governors of Tennessee, vol. V, 1857-1869. Nashville, Tenn. hist. comm., 1959. 728 p. $4.00.

Wickman, Patricia Guion. Christ Church episcopal, Rugby, Tennessee: a short history. Privately printed, 1959. 47 p.

Wiley, Bell I. The common soldier of the Civil War. New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1959. 454 + 444 p. A one-volume edition of the life of Johnny Reb (1943) and The life of Billy Yank (1951).

Wiley, Mary C. With Calvin H. Wiley in Tennessee through unpublished letters. (N. C. hist. rev. Jan. '59. v. 36: 72-95.)

Williams, Kenneth P. Lincoln finds a general: a military study of the Civil War. vol. V, Prelude to Chattanooga. New York, Macmillan co., 1959. 395 p. $7.50.

World's finest collection of rare teapots draws tourists to Trenton. (Tenn. conser. July '59. v. 25: 14-16.)

Wyeth, John A. That Devil Forrest. New York, Harper & brothers, 1959. 614 p. $6.95. Reprint with introduction by Henry S. Commager of 1899 edition.

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1959

Memphis State University

Bronaugh, Mae M. The Crump-Browning political feud, 1937-1938.

University of Tennessee

Allem, Warren. Backgrounds of the Scopes trial at Dayton, Tennessee.

Bennett, Marea Hasty. The development and progress of education in Moore county, Tennessee.

Burke, Carmel E. Geographic factors influencing the development of Scott County, Tennessee.

Davidson, Betty Jean. Tennessee's proposed amendments to the Federal Constitution, 1796-1861.

Dorman, Coy. Manufacturing in the west central Knoxville area.

Freels, Edward Theodore, Jr. Industrial development along Knoxville's waterfront.

Gill, Mayda Belle. A history of Tennessee school camping.

Hawkins, John Owen. The geology of the Lea Springs area, Grainger county, Tennessee.

Hill, James Edwin, Jr. The strawberry industry of the hilly and mountainous regions of Tennessee.

Pratt, C. W. The history and development of education in Knox county, Tennessee.

UNPUBLISHED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS, 1959

George Peabody College

Gault, Thomas Gower. Rural land use in Franklin county, Tennessee. Ed.D.

University of Tennessee

Byar, Thomas Madison. The student population in the institutions of higher education in the southern Appalachian region, 1933-1958. Ed. D.

Hearn, Edell Midgett. Public educational changes through legislation in Tennessee, 1935-1959. Ed. D.

Vanderbilt University

Minton, John Dean. The new deal in Tennessee, 1932-1938.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

Seedtime on the Cumberland. By Harriette Simpson Arnow. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. Pp. xviv, 449. Maps, footnotes, index. $7.50.)

"This new book by Harriette Simpson Arnow is chiefly the story of the first white settlers who came to the Bluegrass and limestone valleys of that buskin, which embraces much of southern Kentucky and most of middle Tennessee, centering on Nashville. The life of 1780-1803 in the Old Southwest has never been drawn in such detail.

"Mrs. Arnow has devoted years to research, but as her own roots are in the Cumberland country, she brings to her work a personal slant that helps transform the past into the present. *Seedtime* is devoted chiefly to the adventures in exploration, hunting, traveling, and at last the actual settling behind picketed walls where for fifteen years all had to live in order to survive the Indian warfare.

"Still, the work does not pretend to be a military or political history. It is more in the nature of an attempted recreation of a vanished way of life, and in the attempt Mrs. Arnow looked into the lives of more than a hundred-fifty first and early settlers. A few such as Andrew Jackson will be familiar to many readers, but most, like Edmund Jennings, Indian scout and ferryman, were ordinary people and hence forgotten. Bit by bit from a multitude of sources, many unpublished and heretofore unused, the life patterns of these men and women were pieced out." (Jacket.)

Pen and Sword: The Life and Journals of Randal W. McGavock. Edited by Herschel Gower and Jack Allen. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1959. Pp. 695. Illustrations, footnotes, index. $6.50.)

"When a Yankee bullet cut down Randal McGavock on the battlefield at Raymond, Mississippi, it brought to an end the life of a daring soldier, dedicated public servant, and distinguished Southerner. It also brought to a close one of the most compelling and informative diaries of the antebellum South.

"In his thirty-six years Randal McGavock led a life filled with adventure, and the story of that life is here brilliantly told for the first time. Read Randal's detailed account of life as a Harvard law student, including his observations on the New England abolitionists. Follow him as he escorts the flamboyant Madam Le Vert around Boston, or tours the cultural centers of Europe, or beats off an attack by river pirates in Egypt. Share with him a busy life among the aristocracy of North and South, the anxieties of a bittersweet courtship of the flirtatious Seraphine Deery, or his daily responsibilities as Mayor of Nashville.

"Read, too, the story of Randal's courageous stand at Forts Henry and Donelson, his incisive criticism of the blundering Confederate commanders, his life of confinement as a prisoner of war at Fort Warren, and his joyous reunion with his regiment in 1862." (Jacket.)

Introducing the journals is a biography of McGavock by Herschel Gower.

Birth of a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains. By Carlos C. Campbell. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, c. 1960. Pp. xii, 165. Illustrations, maps, footnotes, appendix, index. $5.00.)

"The nation's most popular national park did not just 'come to be,' a logical and natural development on federally-owned lands. Instead, it was the first national park to be acquired from private owners and given by the people to the federal government. Establishment of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park climaxed an unprecedented crusade that is a story of almost fanatic dedication to a cause, as well as one of frustration, despair, political bias, even physical violence.

"Today, more than three million people a year admire the park's primeval beauty—its towering peaks, sparkling cascades, virgin forests, and remarkable variety of wildflowers and shrubs. These form an ever-present backdrop for this account of the *Birth of a National Park.*

"Carlos C. Campbell, the author, is recognized as a leading authority on the Great Smoky Mountains. He lived close to the park campaign from its beginning to successful conclusion. For more than 20 years he has served as secretary of the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association, the group which started and directed the unique movement and which urged that Mr. Campbell record these events." (Jacket.)

Nashville: Personality of a City. By Alfred Leland Crabb. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., c. 1960. Pp. 288. Acknowledgement, index. $3.95.)

The interesting chapter titles which follow are suggestive of the contents of this fascinating book:

1. The Beginnings; 2. Nashville: Where the Battle Flags Are Unfurled; 3. Neighborly Relations; 4. Send for a Doctor; 5. Scents from the Kitchen; 6. The Spires Stand High; 7. The Athenians March Again; 8. Pen and Press; 9. Andrew Jackson's Hermitage.

McMinnville at the Milestone, 1810-1960: A Memento of the Sesquicentennial Year of McMinnville, Tennessee, 1960, and Warren County, Tennessee, 1958. By Walter Womack. (McMinnville: Standard Publishing Co., Inc. and Womack Printing Co., 1960. Pp. 327. Illustrations, appendices, sources quoted. $10.00.)

"The 150th anniversary of the founding of Warren County passed two years ago unheralded and little noticed. This year of 1960 ushers in McMinnville's sesquicentennial year and it seems fitting that these past 150 years be reviewed—each progressive event—each milestone—be brought to light, and that those pioneers who helped to carve from the wilderness our modern, progressive town of McMinnville and county of Warren be given some small recognition for their part in this progress." (Foreword.)

Centennial Celebration of Island Home Baptist Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, October 2, 1960-December 11, 1960. (Knoxville: Privately printed, 1960. Illustrations.)

"We need to turn back pages of history and catch a glimpse of the men and women who gave us something in the past to hold today and to cherish in the future." (Pastor.)

Centennial History, 1859-1959: St. Johns Methodist Church. By Earle L. Whittington. (Memphis: St. John's Methodist Church, c. 1960. Pp. 95. Illustrations, index.)

"It is of course impossible to pay proper recognition to all of those who have given so unselfishly to make St. John's a great Church, but we sincerely feel

that one way to honor them is to continue to work faithfully for the progress of Methodism and St. John's." (Page 13.)

Mushrooms of the Great Smokies. By L. R. Hesler. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, c. 1960. Pp. xii, 289. Illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. $5.50.)

"This book is addressed to the inquiring amateur. It presents some representatives of the mushrooms and their relatives of the fertile region, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Although the book describes those species of mushrooms that occur within the Park, it should be understood that many of these species are also Southern Appalachian and even worldwide in their occurrence. On the other hand a few are known only from the Great Smokies or from within the Park itself. The inclusion of these mountains within the National Park guarantees within its borders a permanent succession of mushroom crops for all favorable seasons to come." (Preface.)

A List of Tennessee State Publications No. 7. (Nashville: State Library Division, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1960. Pp. 60.)

The state publications issued in 1959 are listed.

Serving Tennessee's Agriculture: For Meetings, Research, Education. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee *Newsletter,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 3, June, 1960.)

Summarized in this publication is the history of the University as a land-grant college.

Better Government Through Research: Services of the University of Tennessee Bureau of Public Administration to Officials of City, County, State and National Governments. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee *Newsletter,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, April, 1960.)

This bulletin reviews the services of the Bureau of Public Administration since its organization in 1945.

Arithmetic in Tennessee: A Survey of Teaching Practices, Grades One through Eight. By Aaron Montgomery Johnston. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee *Record,* Vol. 63, No. 3, May, 1960. Pp. 58.)

This is an analysis, based on answers to a questionnaire, of methods of teaching arithmetic in the schools of Tennessee.

Registers, No. 1: The Jacob McGavock Dickinson Papers. (Nashville: Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1959. Pp. 19.)

"This Register of the Jacob McGavock Dickinson Papers is the first of a series of registers to be published by the Manuscript Section of the Archives Division. . . .

"From time to time, the Manuscript Section will publish registers for its largest collections. These registers will be sent to libraries, manuscript depositories, and researchers, in order that its holdings may become better known and their use encouraged." (Preface.)

They Have Topped the Mountain: The Story of a Circuit Riding Lawyer of the Kentucky Mountains. By Clara Wootton. (Frankfort: Bluegrass Press, 1960. Pp. 159. Illustrations, index. $4.95.)

"General Bailey P. Wootton was a friendly man who took great pride in public service. . . . As mountain school teacher, banker, lawyer, and newspaper man he was active in the public affairs of the great North Fork Country. In the larger phase of state office holding he was to bring faithful service and lasting honor to the Commonwealth." (Introduction.)

Lawyers of the Tennessee mountains had similar experiences.

Why the North Won the Civil War. Edited by David Donald. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, c. 1960. Pp. xv, 129. $2.95.)

"Certainly the staggering economic superiority of the North vitally affected the outcome, as pointed out by Richard N. Current. . . . T. Harry Williams cites the deficiencies of Confederate strategy and military leadership. . . . Norman A. Graebner points out the factor of European diplomatic tradition and the importance of Southern military success to the wooing of foreign nations. David Donald offers an intriguing conclusion about Southern defeat—the Confederacy was too democratic to win a war. . . . In the concluding essay, David M. Potter draws a vivid comparison between Lincoln and Davis as wartime leaders, and suggests that the South suffered fatally from the lack of a second well-organized political party to force the administration into competent leadership.

"These papers were originally prepared for the Annual Civil War Conference at Gettysburg College." (Jacket.)

The Foreword was written by General U. S. Grant, III.

The Quest for Equality: The Constitution, Congress and the Supreme Court. By Robert J. Harris. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, c. 1960. Pp. xiv, 172. Footnotes, table of cases, index. $4.00.)

"This book represents the first complete synthesis of American political theory, constitutional history, and constitutional law with regard to equal protection. At the same time it presents in highly readable form the stormy, eventful, sometimes ludicrous history of the struggle for equality in this country. . . .

"Merely as a concise and authoritative survey of Supreme Court decisions on the Fourteenth Amendment, this book is invaluable. Far more than this, however, it reflects, with vigor and with the author's powerful perspective on political theory and on American constitutional and judicial history." (Jacket.)

The Burden of Southern History. By C. Vann Woodward. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, c. 1960. Pp. xv, 205, $3.50.)

"In this eagerly-awaited book—his first since the highly acclaimed *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*—Vann Woodward discusses the distinctive Southern heritage and its relationship to the future of American life, focusing his attention on the forces and influences that have given the South an ironic experience of history not shared by the rest of America.

"The South's first-hand knowledge of poverty and defeat, the author says, is far more closely identified with the common lot of mankind than the national legend of abundance and success. The South, therefore, is in a position to help the nation chart its political course with greater knowledge of the dilemmas which confront other nations." (Jacket.)

The essays in this volume, with one exception, have already appeared individually in various publications.

Confederate Strategy from Shiloh to Vicksburg. By Archer Jones. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, c. 1961. Pp. xxi, 258. Footnotes, bibliography, map, index. $5.00.)

"In particular, the book deals with the establishment of a super command system in the West, but the author also surveys both Union and Confederate general strategy during the years 1862-63.

"In describing the origin and development of the Western command system, Jones explains in full the parts played by Jefferson Davis, secretaries of war George W. Randolph and James A. Seddon, and by the commander of the Department of the West, General Joseph E. Johnston. He also turns up evidence for a more favorable evaluation of Davis as a military strategist, and presents new views of the capabilities of Johnston and contributions of Randolph.

"The importance of President Davis' method of departmental command is emphasized. In dealing with the significant problem of the President's relations with General Johnston, the author shows that, contrary to the popular notion, the two worked harmoniously together up to the time of the Vicksburg campaign." (Jacket.)

Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders. By Ezra J. Warner. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, c. 1959. Pp. xxvii, 420. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography. $7.50.)

"My purpose, then, was two-fold: To present a concise biography of every Confederate general officer, correcting errors in and adding to the accounts in standard reference works and other published sources, as well as resurrecting the many men whose lives had never before been sketched; and secondly, to reproduce an authentic likeness of each officer." (Preface.)

Lincoln Day by Day, Vol. I, *1809-1848;* Vol. II, *1849-1860.* Ed. by Earl Schenck Miers and William E. Baringer. (Washington: Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, 1960. Pp. xx, 327; viii, 305.)

"Where does one turn for the truth about Mr. Lincoln—or, perhaps more realistically, for the approximate truth? To distinguish history from myth, fact from prejudice, or even a genuine document from a forgery would be a task of considerable perplexity were it not for two contributions to historical scholarship for which the present generation must be long remembered. The first of these achievements was the publication in 1953, under the general editorship of Dr. Roy P. Basler, of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln.* The happy decision of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission to support the compilation and publication of the present three volumes of this chronology adds the other accomplishment. The two works, following the same texts for Lincoln's writing and speeches and employing the same symbols for identifying manuscript sources, are designed to be used together, yet each makes its own distinct (and, in some respects, unique) contribution to our understanding of the man and his age." (Introduction.)

Americans at War: The Development of the American Military System. By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, c. 1960. Pp. xi, 105. Illustrations, footnotes, notes on sources, index. $3.50.)

"*Americans at War* is a concise historical survey of the system by which the U. S. government has sought to organize and direct our military forces from Revolutionary War days to the Atomic Age.

"In giving his interpretative view of the development of the American command system, Dr. Williams demonstrates convincingly that the American genius —even the genius for making mistakes—has found full expression in the various systems which have been formulated." (Jacket.)

These essays were delivered as the J. P. Young Lectures in American History at Memphis State University in October, 1956.

Emotion at High Tide: Abolition as a Controversial Factor, 1830-1845. By Henry H. Simms. (Baltimore: Moore & Company, Inc., c. 1960. Pp. vi, 243. Footnotes, index. $5.00.)

"Though the scope of the slavery controversy was broader after 1845 than before, all the essential elements in the controversy over the abolitionists were present by that year. Studies on the genral sctional theme up to 1861 usually give only a brief interpretation of the earlier abolition movement, and most of those on the movement as such approach it from special points of view. Prompted by the feeling that examination of the primary sources relative to the implications of abolitionism in the 1830's and 1840's was inadequate, the author has been delv-

ing widely into such sources ever since he produced his study, *A Decade of Sectional Controversy, 1851-1861.* The result of this investigation as recorded in the following pages is a work which covers, with greater thoroughness, more facets of the abolition question than any book on the period under consideration. *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830 to 1844,* by Gilbert H. Barnes, parallels the current study in point of time, but its nature and purpose are such as to preclude emphasis upon many of the phases covered in the current study." (Preface.)

The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865: An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes. By Henry Smith Stroupe. (Durham, N.C., 1956. Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXXIII, Pp. 172. Bibliography, index. $4.50.)

"The portion of this book entitled 'Historical Introduction' narrates briefly the founding of the leading periodicals, explains why they were started, and analyzes their problems, their objectives, and their relations with each other. The attitude of the religious press toward several notable historical events is described.

"In the annotated bibliography, arranged alphabetically by title, each of the 159 publications known to have appeared in the South Atlantic States before 1865 is described." (Preface.)

Heroines of the Blue and Gray. By David James Harkness. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee *Newsletter,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, August, 1960.)

"The War Between the States is a period which fascinates everyone who appreciates courage and devotion to a great cause. It is a colorful era and one which is filled with adventure and romance of the highest order. . . . But the distaff side of the South also deserves recognition. The women of the Confederacy did their part, too. They also helped make history, and for this they deserve a place in the gallery of immortals of the great civil strife. These are heroines in every sense of the word—gallant, brave, self-sacrificing, daring, dedicated to an ideal." (Page 1)

The Siege of St. Augustine in 1802. By Charles W. Arnade. University of Florida *Monographs, Social Sciences,* No. 3. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 67. Illustrations, maps, citations, bibliography, index. $2.00.)

This is a detailed account, based largely on primary sources, of the unsuccessful effort of the English to take this Spanish port during Queen Anne's War.

Aldridge Family Genealogy and History: The Descendants of Jesse Alldridge and Rachel Cobb. Compiled by Franklin Rudolph Aldridge. (Nashville: Commercial Letter Shop, 1960. Pp. 97. Illustrations. $5.00.)

"This book is the result of many hours, nay, months of concentrated effort on the part of one whose interest in her subject has led to many hours of work, many miles of travel and countless interviews with people who could answer the questions concerning the subject in which she was interested." (Preface.)

John Duncan of Blount County, Tennessee and His Descendants. Compiled by John C. Crawford, III. (Knoxville: Privately printed, 1959. Pp. 29. Mimeographed. $1.00.)

"Because of its incompleteness, this booklet is offered for sale only to libraries and historical societies. In time I hope to expand it into a work which every descendant of John Duncan will cherish. Then it will be offered to the public." (Foreword.)

Families and Descendants in America of Golsan, Golson, Gholson, Gholston, also Goldston, Golston, Etc. By James M. Black. (Salt Lake City, Utah: James M. Black, 2731 Loran Heights Drive, c. 1959. Pp. 815. Illustrations, index. $25.00.)

"The experiences encountered during the gathering of this material were pleasant and many were extremely fascinating. There were exciting moments when new evidences were uncovered, or when relatives responded with important contributions. Permanent acquaintances were formed as friends and relatives assisted in gathering the many records, pictures, sketches, clippings and historic items which have become part of this volume." (Preface.)

The Goodner Family: A Genealogical History, With a Brief History of Jacob Daniel Scherrer and Notes of Other Allied Families. By Hubert Wesley Lacey. (Dayton, Ohio: Hubert W. Lacey, 1960. Pp. xii, 511. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $11.25.)

In addition to genealogical material, this book includes a number of personal letters, family records, and copies of several wills.

Reid Family: Jeremiah Reid of Timber Ridge, Hampshire County, Virginia, and Some Descendants and Affiliations. (N.p., 1960. Pp. 278. Illustrations, index.)

In addition to the Reid family, the Caudy, Hiett, McPherson, McElwee, the Mahon, and Orndorff families of Virginia; the Hunt and Newby families of Guilford County, N.C.; the "Tommy" Brown tribe of Fishing Creek, Ky.; and the Adkins and Kerr (Carr) families are included.

The Wills Family of Johnson County, Tennessee. Compiled by Carl B. Neal. (Olympia, Wash.: The compiler, 1960. Pp. 447. Illustrations, maps, index. $8.50.)

This is a genealogy of the Wills family from the earliest ancestor, Lewis Wills, who was "born in Strausburg on the River Rhine in Alsace. . . . He came to Lancaster W. Pa. in 1748." He died in Greene County, Tennessee, in 1832. (Page 37.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1959

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. "Problems in Dialect Study of the Southern Appalachians," by Miss Elizabeth Jackson, Professor of English at Maryville College.

FEBRUARY. "The Suffrage Battle of 1920, in Retrospect," by Honorable Harry T. Burn, of Rockwood.

MARCH. "Fire Prevention and Fire Fighting in Ante-bellum Knoxville," by John B. Clark, Jr., Associate Professor of Social Science at Tennessee Polytechnic Institute.

APRIL. "Fort Loudoun: an Example of Historical Archæology," by Peter H. Kunkel, Project Archæologist of the Fort Loudoun Association.

MAY. The Society held a joint meeting with the Chattanooga Area Historical Association, the Polk County Historical Association, and the Tennessee Historical Society in Athens. Following a tour of local historic sites, a dinner meeting was held at Tennessee Wesleyan College. The program for the evening was given by the newly organized McMinn County Chapter of the East Tennessee Historical Society. The main address was delivered by J. Neal Ensminger, General Manager, *Daily Post-Athenian.*

OCTOBER. "Colonel David Henley," by Mrs. Alice W. Milton, of Chattanooga. The meeting, held at Bleak House, now Confederate Memorial Hall, was followed by an informal reception. Music was furnished by Misses Garnet Manges and Katherine Crews. On the day following the meeting, the Society sponsored a tour of Fort Loudoun.

NOVEMBER. "The Tennessee Historical Commission — Past, Present, and Future," by William T. Alderson, Executive Secretary of the Tennessee Historical Commission.

DECEMBER. "The Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee," by Stanley J. Folmsbee, Professor of History at the University of Tennessee.

At the December meeting the constitution of the Society was amended to provide that the terms of the regular officers should begin on May 1 of each year, following election at the April meeting. The fiscal year was to remain the calendar year. Other amendments revised the amount of dues to be paid by the various classes of members and made the presidents of auxiliary chapters ex officio members of the Executive Committee.

Other News

The McClung Award, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in the Society's annual *Publications,* was awarded for the year 1959 to Willard Hays for his "Andrew Johnson's Reputation." The judges were Professors Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., Vanderbilt University, George Osborn, University of Florida, and David M. Potter, Yale University.

The *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* in its December, 1959, issue announced the establishment of The John Trotwood Moore and Mary Daniel Moore Memorial Award of $100 to go to the author of the best article in each volume of the *Quarterly.* The award was established through the generosity of Mrs. Helen Moore Cole, Mrs. Mary Daniel Moore Whitney, and Mrs. Merrill Moore,

daughters and daughter-in-law of the late Mr. and Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, who served successively as state librarian and archivist of Tennessee from 1919 to 1949. The winner of the award for the 1959 volume was J. Milton Henry, Austin Peay State College, for his article, "The Revolution in Tennessee, February, 1861 to June, 1861."

At the annual dinner meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society, May, 1959, George F. McCanless, Attorney General of Tennessee, was elected president; Mrs. Penelope J. Allen, Chattanooga, was elected vice-president for East Tennessee. At the fall meeting, October 13, Mrs. Leota D. Maiden read a paper on "John Williams — Soldier and Statesman." This was an outgrowth of her article about this noted Knoxvillian which appeared in *Publications* No. 30 of the East Tennessee Historical Society, and which received the McClung Award for 1958. Prior to the meeting, a portrait of Colonel Williams was presented to the state by his great-granddaughters, Misses Mary H. and Jane Williams of San Antonio, Texas. Dr. Robert H. White accepted the portrait on behalf of Governor Buford Ellington.

The Polk County Historical Society at its meeting September 29, 1959, elected Isham P. Lyle president, Mrs. Helen Hale vice-president, Miss Margaret Williamson secretary-treasurer, Roy G. Lillard librarian, and Mrs. John L. Brewer and R. E. Barclay members of the Executive Committee. The Society plans to collect documents relating to the Civil War in connection with the approaching Civil War Centennial.

At the nineteenth annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History, in Philadelphia, an award of merit was given to the Tennessee Historical Commission for its publication, *Tennessee Historical Markers,* edited by William T. Alderson, Executive Secretary of the Commission. An award was also given to the Nashville *Banner* for its articles on Nashville history and its support of local historical projects.

At two sessions of the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Denver, April 23-25, 1959, Andrew Jackson was the leading subject. Professor Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina, addressed the luncheon meeting sponsored by Phi Alpha Theta on the topic, "On Tour with Andrew Jackson." At a session devoted to Jacksonian Democracy, presided over by Edwin A. Miles, University of Houston, Richard P. McCormick, Rutgers University, discussed "Suffrage Classes and Party Alignments"; James L. Bugg, Jr., University of Missouri, "James M. Mason and the Jackson Movement in Virginia"; and Elbert B. Smith, Iowa State College, "Nerve Center of Jacksonian Democracy: Francis P. Blair and the *Globe.*" Thomas P. Govan, National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church (and formerly a professor at the University of the South), was the commentator.

The Southern Historical Association celebrated its 25th anniversary at its annual meeting in Atlanta, November 12-14, 1959. Of the past presidents who were honored, one, Philip M. Hamer, is a former professor and dean at the University of Tennessee, and the last four, Bell I. Wiley, James W. Patton, Robert S. Henry, and Walter B. Posey, are natives of Tennessee. One of the papers read at a session dealing with "Twentieth Century Political Leaders" was "Edward H. Crump, Values and the Problem of Evaluation," by William D. Miller, Marquette University (formerly of Memphis State University).

The Tennessee Historical Commission at its May, 1959, meeting increased the Commission's aid to the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* and the West Tennessee Historical Society's *Papers.* It also allocated funds for the purchase and restoration of Rocky Mount, or the Cobb House, near Johnson City,

the first capitol of the Southwest Territory. The restoration work and subsequent maintenance will be in charge of the Rocky Mount Historical Commission, of which Mrs. Frank W. DeFriese of Bristol was elected president.

The board of directors of the Fort Loudoun Association on September 2, 1959, decided to construct a visitors' center at the fort. Miss Madeline Kneberg, Professor of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, has prepared a series of ten new exhibits for the restoration, featuring the archæological investigations which were made by the project archæologist, Peter H. Kunkel.

The David Crockett State Park at Lawrenceburg was dedicated May 31, with Governor Buford Ellington delivering the dedicatory address. A luncheon in honor of Governor Ellington was given by the Lawrence County Historical Association, whose main objection has been the creation of the park.

The dedication of the Cumberland Gap National Park, the culmination of the dedicated efforts of several citizens of the area over the past thirty-six years, occurred on July 4-5, 1959. Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton made the principal addresses. One of the most active promoters was the late Robert Lee Kincaid, President emeritus of Lincoln Memorial University.

The Governor William Blount Mansion Association in Knoxville made great progress during 1959 in the restoration of the kitchen which adjoined the main dwelling. Together with the restored office, a separate building restored in 1956, this restoration makes this tourist attraction appear more nearly as it was during its occupation by the governor of the Southwest Territory. Mrs. A. C. Bruner was chairman of the restoration committee.

The James White Restoration Association, with Mrs. Earle Coulter and Joseph L. Sneed as co-chairmen, has been organized for the purpose of restoring and moving to the neighborhood of the projected James White Auditorium the James White cabin, the first building constructed in Knoxville (1786), and to build a replica of White's Fort, of which this cabin was a part.

Chapter 89 of the United Daughters of the Confederacy acquired "Bleak House," an ante-bellum home which was used as headquarters by Generals Longstreet and McLaws during the Battle of Knoxville, 1863. It is to be the chapter house and also a museum, to be called the Confederate Memorial Hall.

The Eighty-first General Assembly of Tennessee, 1959, created a Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission to direct the state's commemoration of that event. The members of the Commission named in the act are: Stanley F. Horn, Nashville, Chairman; Gilbert E. Govan, Chattanooga; Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely, Newport; Ralph W. Haskins, University of Tennessee; J. Pinckney Lawrence, Nashville; Sam M. Fleming, Nashville; Mrs. W. Hubert Wyatt, Franklin; Seale B. Johnson, Jackson; Paul Flowers, Memphis; and Mrs. L. B. Gardiner, Memphis. At the organizational meeting J. P. Lawrence was elected vice-chairman, and an executive committee was chosen, to consist of Ralph W. Haskins, Mrs. W. H. Wyatt, and Seale B. Johnson. William T. Alderson, Executive Secretary of the Tennessee Historical Commission, was named acting-secretary. Later, Colonel Campbell H. Brown, Nashville, was appointed executive director of the Centennial Commission; and the Commission and Governor Ellington invited every mayor and county judge to appoint a local centennial committee to plan local observances.

The University of Chattanooga sponsored a Civil War Centennial Symposium on October 23-24 around the theme of the coming of the war. The program was planned by Dean James W. Livingood and Gilbert E. Govan. The distinguished historians who delivered addresses were Robert S. Henry, Avery O.

Craven, E. Merton Coulter, Joseph H. Parks, Stanley F. Horn, LeRoy P. Graf, and T. Harry Williams.

Professor William B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin (formerly of the University of Chattanooga) delivered the seventh series of J. P. Young Lectures in American History at Memphis State University October 25-27. His general subject was "Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction."

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

E. Katherine Crews is assistant professor of music at Maryville College.

Willard Hays is instructor of history at West Texas State College.

Russell L. Stockard is professor of history at Southern University.

D. C. Corbitt is head of the Department of History and Government, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

Ben H. McClary of Benton, Tennessee, is a teacher in the Bradley Central High School, Cleveland, Tennessee.

LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins, University of Tennessee, are co-editors of the Andrew Johnson Papers Project, engaged in editing the private papers of Andrew Johnson. They would appreciate receiving information concerning any letters to or from Johnson which any readers may have.

Pollyanna Creekmore is librarian of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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Cumberland Gap National Historical Park

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Emory University
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Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.
Florida Historical Society
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Genealogical Newsletter, Washington, D.C.
Genealogical Society of Utah
Georgia Historical Commission
Georgia Historical Society
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Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio
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Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania
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Journal of Southern History

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Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia
Montgomery County (Pa.) Historical Society
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

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New England Historic Genealogical Society
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North Carolina Dept. Archives and History
The North Carolinian, Raleigh

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St. Louis Public Library

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Southwest Kansas Genealogical Society

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